
**DECONSTRUCTING AND RECONSTRUCTING
THE MARTIN CASH/JAMES LESTER BURKE
NARRATIVE/MANUSCRIPT OF 1870**

Duane Helmer Emborg BA, BD, M Divinity, MA Communications

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School of History and Classics
The University of Tasmania
Australia

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This work began in the Archives of the State Library in Hobart, Tasmania, approximately twenty-one years ago when my wife, Joan, and I discovered a large bundle of foolscap pages. They were thick with dust, neatly bound and tied with a black ribbon. I mused, 'perhaps this is it!' Excitement mounted as we turned to Folio 1 of the faded, Victorian handwritten manuscript. Discovered was the original 1870 narrative/manuscript of bushranger Martin Cash as produced by himself and scribe/co-author, James Lester Burke. The State Archives personnel assisted in reproducing the 550 pages. They were wonderfully helpful. I wish I could remember all their names. Tony Marshall's help stands out.

A study of the original manuscript and a careful perusal of the many editions of the Cash adventure tale alerted me that the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript had not been fully examined before, as the twelve 1880-1981 editions of *Martin Cash, His Adventures*...had omitted 62,501 words which had not been published after the 1870 edition. My twenty years of study is here presented and, certainly, it would not have happened without the help of many. Geoff Stillwell (deceased) pointed me in the direction of the possible resting place of the manuscript.

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Buck Emberg
September 2011
Launceston, Tasmania

DECLARATION

This is to certify that:

- (i) The thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD degree.
- (ii) Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used and quoted.
- (iii) This thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying in accordance with Copyright 1968.
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Duane Helmer Emberg

Date

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ABSTRACT

DECONSTRUCTING AND RECONSTRUCTING THE 1870 MARTIN CASH/JAMES LESTER BURKE NARRATIVE/MANUSCRIPT OF 1870

The 1870 Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript narrated by Irish bushranger, Martin Cash, and co-authored by fellow convict, James Lester Burke, was not published in its entirety in the twelve editions after the first edition of 1870. The words in the full narrative/manuscript total 151,104. Of these, 62,501 were omitted from all post-1870 editions. This removal of text resulted in the loss of large portions of a significant document from the convict era in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island. The narrative is told from the point of view of an illiterate Irish convict. It is established that Cash's recall of his twenty-seven years in the British penal system and Burke's scribing and co-authoring produced a narrative/manuscript which adds fresh dimensions to the historiography of time and place and also buttresses already known data. The basic dilemma was to establish a methodology which both separated and rejoined the exclusions into the full manuscript and in the process examine the origins and meanings of the omissions.

With the separation and rejoining of the text in mind, the thesis examines the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript closely by extricating Cash's words and experiences from sometimes seemingly unconnected material inserted by Burke or others. By reinstating the missing material from the twelve editions of 1880-1981, a fuller understanding of a long-term convict's experience within the British penal system emerges. Also examined is the relationship the Cash/Burke work has with Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*.

The result is the reconstruction of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript as a primary source from the years 1828-1855. This reconstructed information is in addition to material gained from official records, the opinions of contemporaries, newspaper reports and the mythology of bushranger Cash. Burke's role in the production may be referred to in a number of ways as 'editor', 'biographer', 'amanuensis', 'co-author' 'scribe' or 'author'. He was all of these. For the purpose of this thesis, the term 'co-author' will be the operative definition. The result is a new examination of an overlooked Australian colonial manuscript.

D. H. Emborg
University of Tasmania
School of History and Classics
2011

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY FOR DECONSTRUCTING AND RECONSTRUCTING THE CASH/BURKE NARRATIVE/MANUSCRIPT

This thesis seeks to make a case for restoring the original edition of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript and to establish that the more complete 1870 first edition¹ provides a much richer source for understanding the convict era than subsequent bowdlerized editions.² The Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript was narrated by illiterate bushranger Martin Cash and recorded by fellow emancipist and co-author James Lester Burke who penned the entire work in his careful copperplate hand. A very destructive fire in 1924 razed the printing sections of the *The Mercury* newspaper of Hobart destroying all relevant records of transactions, editing and re-editing of the manuscript which was held by *The Steam Press*, a publishing arm of *The Mercury*. *The Mercury Steam Press* was the publisher of all thirteen editions from 1870-1981. In editions following 1870, the term *Steam Press* was dropped and replaced with *Mercury-Walch*. It appears that the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript was misplaced somewhere between the first and second editions 1870-1880. From 1880 the truncated versions were not altered. All twelve editions from 1880-1981 were printed without the *Addenda* of 28,985 words, a collection of newspaper accounts, letters to the newspaper editors and government records which were relevant to the Cash criminal forays and his trial. Also omitted in the 1880-1981 editions were sections of the narrative, totalling 33,516 words. It appears that the gatekeeper(s) of these editions, who were the editors of *The Steam Press* and their succeeding publishing arms, were responsible for the removal of these sections of the narrative.

¹ Martin Cash, James Lester Burke, ed, *Martin Cash, the Bush Ranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4* (Hobart, 1870).

² The reader is referred to Appendix 1: 'Printed Editions of *The Adventures of Martin Cash*' for a full listing of all editions after 1870.

The setting aside by unknown participants of 62,501 words from a primary source left a gap of information which inflects the Cash story. The manuscript was rediscovered c.1989 in the Archives of Tasmania (AOT) after being misplaced for a number of decades. To date the only attempt at reproducing the accuracy of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript has been *The Uncensored Story of Martin Cash*.³ While faithful to the Cash story, the work was marked by the editors' interpretive annotations and some omissions. The publisher of the 1870 first edition was apparently not satisfied with the grammar and organisation of the original manuscript; however, he was faithful to the entire story and thrust of Cash's account. There is no argument about the first edition as to whether or not it is a faithful recording of the story within the manuscript. It is.

Problems such as the Cash-Robin Hood myth had already developed before the 1870 edition had been published. This myth became popular immediately after the Cash gang escaped from Port Arthur. In 'Literature Review' (Chapter 2) a number of popular writers who continued this myth well into the 1980s are examined. This inaccurate view of the Cash tale has very little historical basis. Cash was no Robin Hood. He did not rob the rich to give to the poor. This myth is set to rest by the examination of the full manuscript and the restoration of lengthy omissions.

It was initially considered to develop this thesis as oral history; however, this presented a conundrum in terms of deciding how deeply to delve into the literature of memory as it pertains to oral history. Australian historian, Patrick O'Farrell, observed that oral history was moving into '...the world of image, selective memory, later overlays and utter subjectivity...and where will it lead us? Not into history, but into myth'.⁴ Thus the decision was made not to venture too deeply into oral history because of the complexity of the subject. This would have been a daunting and lengthy project which would have diverted attention from the primary goal of this thesis which is to restore and understand the fully reinstated manuscript.

³ Joan Dehle Emberg and Buck Thor Emberg, eds, *The Uncensored Story of Martin Cash: The Australian Bushranger as told to James Lester Burke* (Launceston, 1989).

⁴ Patrick O'Farrell, 'Oral History: Facts and Fiction,' *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Vol 5 (1982-83), pp. 3-9 (reprinted from *Quadrant*, November 1979).

An important feature of the narrative/manuscript is that it verifies the reliability of the 1870 edition and emanates from Cash and Burke and is, by definition, the primary source. A historical work which uses the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript as a primary source must be viewed as more accurate than works which depend on the Cash myth. Of course, this does not mean that Cash and Burke were always accurate. Being human, they were not. It is the task of this thesis to examine Cash and Burke's truthfulness and accuracy and to restore the omissions of the post 1870 editions. Space does not allow the entire body of omissions to be reproduced, but representative sections are examined in the chapter 'Omissions, The Book Within the Book' (Chapter 5) and presented at length in Appendix 10 'Omissions in Cash Narrative from the Norfolk Island Period' (Appendix 10).

No alterations were made to the *Addenda* in the manuscript. It is entirely in Burke's hand and identical to the *Addenda* in the 1870 edition. Subsequent editors after 1870 apparently decided they were not dealing with a work of historical significance and hence apparently viewed Cash's recollections as little more than a bushranging tale which offered possible good profits.

For the entire period of 1870 to 1981 it appears there was little thought given to the scholarly value of the Cash/Burke work. Indeed, there is only one recorded example of a scholar who viewed the original manuscript. He is W. Hiener, a local historian known for his presentations to various societies in Hobart and who is examined in 'Literature Study' (Chapter 2).⁵ When re-discovered in 1989, the manuscript appeared to be a work which could be unravelled rather simply. This proved to be far from reality. The narrative/manuscript was reproduced in full from the original manuscript which can only be found in strict security in the AOT, Hobart.

⁵ W. Hiener, 'Martin Cash, The Legend and the Man', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association* (11 May 1965) pp.65-85.

The complex intertwining of legend and history is difficult to unravel. In a sentence, this is the basic problem in separating the narrative work of bushranger and long time convict, Cash, from the folklore which gathered around him and continues to this day. As the Cash legends are examined, some of the stories surrounding the tales proved to be true, some fictitious and others were fanciful. What seemed to be a relatively straight forward validation of a misplaced 1870 colonial manuscript became a work of extreme complexity. Both narrated and reported stories by and about an Irish convict were altered by many subsequent writers.

'James Lester Burke Scribe and Co-Author' (Chapter 4) shows that Burke was the scribe and co-author of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. Only in the 1870 edition is he listed as 'Editor'. His name is not mentioned again either as a contributor or editor in all subsequent editions. It is not likely that Burke corrected his own grammar, spelling and sentence structures as these idiosyncrasies are endemic to his style and not found in the first edition. This strongly suggests that the 1870 alterations were made by someone other than Burke. It therefore established that the editors of the work were from *The Mercury Steam Press*.

Journalists of the day (c.1840s) as they reported the adventures of Cash, delighted in the convict who thumbed nose and gun at the establishment. The media immediately made Cash a special bushranger in the tradition of Tasmanian Matthew Brady. Brady, 1799-1826, was sentenced for theft in England and transported for seven years in 1820. He received 350 lashes for various infractions of the prison code and eventually stole a boat at Macquarie Harbour and escaped. He was caught in the Launceston area, allegedly by John Batman, who later claimed to be the founder of Melbourne. Brady was known as a gentleman who treated citizens well and became quite popular, much in the style that Cash would develop. He was hanged in 1826 but not before he became a folk hero to many. Brady is still a bushranging legend in Tasmania. His name is found on 'Brady's Lookout', a high hill on the Tamar River near Launceston, where he is alleged to have viewed ships entering port which alerted him and his men that booty would soon be

available in Launceston. Cash became and continues to be of the Brady gentleman-bushranger genre.⁶

The narrative/manuscript was separated into two parts: the Cash narrative of 122,119 words and an *Addenda* of 33,516 words. They are placed in folios (or pages). The *Addenda* was placed at the end of the manuscript immediately after the narrative, giving a clear indication that it was seen as a separate entity. Additionally, the purpose of the two parts is clearly distinct: the narrative which forms the story of Cash and the *Addenda* which is a collection of letters to newspapers, journalists' reports, government records and the accounts of Cash and Kavanagh's trials. It will never be fully understood to what degree Burke edited Cash's words as he wrote the manuscript. Because Burke was quite literate and Cash was an illiterate man, we must assume he altered Cash's words considerably. Therefore, for emphasis and before any examination of the narrative/manuscript takes place, we are faced with the probability that this work comes from two people, Cash and Burke.

The first edition of 1870 is a publication of Cash's narrative in its totality. An anomaly took place in the numbering of the editions. The 1870 edition was printed in October of that year and there was an immediate second printing. Thus, in the biographical notes '2nd edn' appears. This is viewed as an extension of the first edition. The second edition, as per all listings thereafter was in 1880. The 1870 publication also includes the complete *Addenda*. The chapter titles reflect the major events covered by each chapter. For instance, 'Botany Bay', the second chapter, speaks of the drama of Cash arriving in Sydney and his farming and animal husbandry experiences in the New South Wales outback. The narrative chapters are titled: I 'Birth and Parentage'; II 'Botany Bay'; III 'Van Diemen's Land 1837'; IV 'Port Arthur'; V 'Escape Across Eaglehawk Neck'; VI 'The Engagement at the Woolpack Inn'; VII 'The Attack Upon Captain Clark'; VIII 'The Night Engagement at Salt Pan Plains'; IX 'The Capture'; X 'Norfolk Island'; XI 'Liberty Restored'. These chapters are followed by the *Addenda*.

⁶ See: Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, revised edn, (New York, Pantheon Books, 1981) and Graham Seal, *The Outlaw Legion: A Cultural Tradition in Britain, America and Australia* (Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1996).

An important writer and the first to use the Cash narrative/manuscript for his own work was Marcus Clarke in his 1874 novel, *For the Term of His Natural Life*. Yet, it is shown that Clarke did not personally view the original narrative/manuscript; instead, he lifted material from the already partially altered 1870 edition. In the twentieth century, Coultman Smith was one of many authors who used the Cash story for various popular works. His *Tales of Old Tasmania* typifies the myths that have grown around the Cash story.⁷ Thus, this thesis is not merely a simple exposition of a semi-lost and newly rediscovered manuscript with annotated corrections. This study is the examination of the narrative/manuscript by Cash and Burke plus the first edition with the associated complexities of twelve following and altered editions and the legends which surrounded a romantic Irish bushranger following his escape from Port Arthur in 1843 and his prior penal experiences in New South Wales. In addition, some of the many characters, places and events in the manuscript are verified.

An Understanding of Narrative

H. Porter Abbott has given new insights into the meaning of narrative. He has shown that a 'narrative' is not simple⁸. A narrative is not a person merely telling a story from his or her viewpoint and from a given point in time. Nor was Cash's oral account a simple narration when he spoke or bragged about his bushranging and penal adventures while he partied with his mates, told his stories, drank grog at the local hotels and other venues in Hobart. The writing took place, most likely, before and during 1870 when the first edition was published. I know from experience as a writer that to compose such a lengthy book of 155,635 words, especially by hand, takes a goodly time. One and one half years seems modest and reasonable for the completion of such a book. The exact number of words was impossible to count as some words by Burke were crossed out and then used again and some words were merely scribbled over.

⁷ Coultman Smith, *Tales of Old Tasmania* (Adelaide, 1978).

⁸ H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 2nd edn (New York, 2008).

Given such a task of authorship the period of collaboration must have started in 1869 (or earlier) in order to be published by October of 1870. We may assume that Cash and Burke were colleagues from 1869 to 1870. There is no record of them meeting either before or after these dates. After the sessions in the place of narration, we must assume that Cash then went home to his orchard and farm in the suburbs. The distance was nine miles. We do not know where Burke resided at that time but, given his record, we may assume he was living in a government dwelling where he was incarcerated but with a certain level of freedom which allowed him writing privileges.

However, the above view of narrative is too simplistic as a proper understanding of the term is complex and many-faceted; for instance, a narrative can be the part of a house deed which explains what a property is, where the property is located or explain the meaning of a legal document. Or a narrative can be a painting such as Picasso's *Guernica* if it depicts an event. A narrative may also be a simple chronology of events. Narratives are all of these and more, frequently dovetailing into other aspects of the tale and, henceforth, each other. Thus, these intertwining variables become interdependent. The Cash narrative does exactly this: it dovetails and intertwines.

Abbott has given a new significance to narrative in his exhaustive works about various academic disciplines, including narratives and their interdependencies. This thesis utilizes and has been influenced by Abbott's methodological approach and it also extends his definition. His recent examination of the literature of narrative is found in *Looking for Answers across Disciplinary Borders*.⁹ In this work, Abbott examines the boundaries between intellectual disciplines which, he explains, are complex and interdependent. More cogent to this study is his crucial insight into the nature of narrative. Much of this thesis depends on Abbott's finding:

Narrative tolerates non-narrative...non-narrative examples are still narrative discourse insofar as they are part of the vehicle that conveys the story. And indeed they do inflect that story as we expect narrative discourse to do.¹⁰

⁹ H. Porter Abbott, 'What Do We Mean When We Say "Narrative Literature"?', *Style* (2000) pp. 260-273.

¹⁰ Abbott, *What Do We Mean...*, p. 3.

Thus, this work takes a much more inclusive examination of narrative than simply viewing a narrative as words spoken by someone to others about an event of the past. Therefore, as Abbott's view is important to this chapter (and, indeed, the entire thesis), many of the intrusions and interventions into the Cash narrative, though they were not spoken by Cash but penned by Burke, may still be seen as part of the narrative as they _...infect that story'. I have extended Abbott's insights to include incidents or items which were recorded or which took place in and around the time frame of Cash's penal experiences by those who were involved in the Cash story whether their contribution was true or untrue. For example, the frontier war fought between Aborigines and European settlers which allegedly saw over two hundred Aborigines killed appears to have been invented by others and told to Cash as there is no known record of the incident.¹¹ However, the story inflects attitudes, behaviour patterns and the people with whom Cash communicated, hence the tale impacts upon the total story and may be viewed as important to the entire manuscript. While this Aboriginal tale should not be seen as a primary source story, my interpretation of Abbott views this tale as holistically important and inflects upon the Cash/Burke work. The reason I seek to separate the fanciful from the factual is because of my intention to show the validity of the Cash work as a valuable historical document.

Narrative may also be silence. There are a number of ways to examine silence. One is to ignore it and another is to delve into the complexities of what was not said. Not only are Abbott's new concepts of insertions used in this study, omissions are part of the narrative as well. Alterations are endemic to the 1870 edition and the post-1870 editions have 33,516 words omitted. In a sense, an examination of omitted passages is also an examination of silence. The problem of omissions is textually examined at length in the chapter titled 'Omissions The Book Within the Book' (Chapter 5), uncovering what I prefer to view as a _book within a book'. However, many of Abbott's additions to the idea of narrative may not necessarily be viewed as primary source material. Primary source(s) can mean only one thing:

¹¹ When presented with this Aboriginal war story, Prof Henry Reynolds stated that he thought the story was more fabrication than fact and did not know of any similar incident.

Primary sources were either created during the time period being studied or were created at a later date by a participant in the events being studied [as in the case of memoirs]. They reflect the individual viewpoint of a participant or observer. Primary sources enable the researcher to get as close as possible to what actually happened during an historical event or time period.¹²

Although almost banal, the above quote is an accurate definition of 'primary source' and is used here to underline Abbott's contention that additional material from the period and from other people may still be seen as narrative, not because they are a primary source but because they reflect or inflect that story.

As Abbott explains, the added words and tales by others may inflect upon the narrative and give deeper insight. Abbott further explains that these inflections bring new timbre to the interpretation of the narrative and we may expect these insights to have an impact upon the meaning and depth of the story. The fourth meaning of 'inflect' in *Webster's Dictionary*, explains that to inflect is '...to bend...inward toward the main axis of the part or body to be modified by inflection...'.¹³ This means in this incidence that the intrusions or inflections could be true or false, but they still illuminate the story being told as the intrusions influence the meaning of the narrative. In other words, stories gathered around a known narrative have impact upon the story and give insight as to how the story (or narrative) functions and what it means. Many of the intrusions into the Cash manuscript are dubious in their accuracy and truthfulness. Several of these tales are obviously untrue but they inflect the narrative and give nuanced insight into the milieu of the time. They catch the spirit of the Cash story and, if they have a related source, they help illustrate his narrative. Extreme care must be taken here even though Abbott would say that these intrusions contribute to the narrative and, therefore, are valid elements of the examination. Part of the task of this work is to separate the probable and actual events from the fanciful or invented additions. Further cases in point are the campfire tales and the Irish poetry. These are examined in 'Additional Materials Inflecting the Narrative' (Chapter 6). According to Abbott, by separating intrusions or inflections from

¹² University of California Library, <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/instruct/guides/primarysources.html>, accessed March, 2009.

¹³ *Webster's Dictionary, Third Edition, Vol. II* (1990) pp. 1159.

what is perceived as the more truthful in a work such as the Cash narrative, the voice of the author may be unmasked.

The Cash Narrative and Venue of Narration

The purpose of this section is to indicate how and where the narrative emerged, and how the narrative may have been influenced by the conventions of story-telling, convict tales and audience.

There are no records yet discovered that state Cash and Burke spent a period of time at the Lord Rodney Hotel in drinking sessions with Cash's old lag mates from times past. However, when examining the records extant, the Lord Rodney is a very valid proposition as it was located on the waterfront of a robust whaling port. If it was not the Lord Rodney, the writing *soirées* would probably have been at another portside hotel. As both were heavy drinkers, Cash and Burke were familiar with social institutions such as bars and pubs. Of course, they were also familiar with the social structures of Irish pubs and how they were centres of social *bon homme*. Thus, it is convincing that a waterfront pub was frequented by Irish ex-convicts and their minions including Cash and Burke.

The Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript became an exposition of the prison system of colonial Australia and the *Addenda* buttressed their story. James Weir, a coxswain-waterman and friend of Cash in Hobart and who he knew on Norfolk Island, was also a friend of B. Molloy. James's brother, Samuel, was also a friend of Cash's.¹⁴ Together the three men purchased Cash's tombstone as verified on the epitaph located in Hobart's Cornelian Bay Cemetery.¹⁵

Cash speaks well of Weir in his narrative and noted that Weir also hated Commandant John Price:

The Vessel which conveyed the Rev Mr Rogers to Hobart Town brought us a new Coxswain named James Weir who by and by became so thoroughly disgusted with the Tyranny exercised on the Island that he sent his resignation to Mr Price who in

¹⁴ *Hobart Town Gazette, Vol. LV*, Government Printer, Hobart Town (1870) p. 1422.

¹⁵ In part the tombstone reads: 'Erected by B. Molloy, Samuel & James Weir...'

order to make Weir feel the effect of his displeasure, imposed extra duties upon him but Weir steadfastly refused to perform any other duty but those to which he had been appointed by the Authorities in Hobart Town, and avowed in the presence of John Price that had he known that such tyranny and rascality existed he would not have accepted the appointment he was at once struck duty and had to remain until the arrival of the next vessel a period of nearly three months, during which time he had to purchase provisions for himself and his wife, not being allowed any by the government, for the little time he remained on the Island he earned the esteem of all who knew him...Weir is still living and has been the leading waterman in Hobart Town for the last twenty years, at all events he was a prisoners friend and as son of that miserable class I wish him every success.¹⁶

James Weir lived in a small stone cottage at the top of Kelly's Steps, 2 Kelly Street, which was approximately 700 metres from the Lord Rodney Hotel.¹⁷ Weir, and brothers Samuel Molloy and B. Molloy were obviously Cash's friends as only friends were likely to purchase a rather grand tombstone. Molloy was the publican of the Lord Rodney for many years.¹⁸ When Cash became sick on approximately August 15, 1877, and sought treatment at the Hobart Hospital, he was refused treatment and told to leave. Cash then asked Molloy if he could stay with him at the Lord Rodney as Molloy was the manager and Cash wanted to stay for only a short time because he felt too ill to travel the nine miles home to his farm at Glenorchy. Molloy accepted Cash as his guest. Ten days later, Cash travelled home and died in his cottage on August 27, 1877, and was buried at Cornelian Bay Cemetery.¹⁹ His tombstone reads in full:

CASH
ERECTED
BY B. MOLLOY, SAMUEL &
JAMES WEIR
TO THE MEMORY OF THAT BRAVE
BUT UNFORTUNATE IRISHMAN
MARTIN CASH
WHO DIED 26 AUGUST 1878
AGED 67 YEARS
RIP

¹⁶Cash, Folios 388 & 389.

¹⁷ City of Hobart, Tasmania, 'List of Voters for 1870'; B. Molloy of Harrington Street, Freeholder, occupied by self.

¹⁸ David Bryce, *Pubs in Hobart Town from 1807* (University of Tasmania, 1997) p.126.

¹⁹ Martin Cash Certificate of Death, 27 August 1877, Registrar-General, Tasmania.

ALSO HIS SON
MARTIN
DIED 6TH JULY 1871
AGED 16 YEARS

Considering all of the data available concerning the Lord Rodney Hotel and the social milieu of the Hobart waterfront, it is therefore reasonable that the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript was narrated in or around the Lord Rodney Hotel or a similar venue.²⁰ Certainly it is credible to view the Hobart waterfront as the place of narration. The importance of venue can have deep importance as examined in 'Conclusion' (Chapter 8).

The writing location of any work must have an influence upon the scope and direction of the final product.²¹ Cash's narrative was influenced by the atmosphere of the tough Lord Rodney Hotel or other like venue. His stories, probably told to a noisy group of hard drinking ex-convicts, thereby produced spirited tales of prisons, escapes and penal corruptions. The Cash narrative could be seen as covering two periods: firstly, the events which led from his transportation in 1827 from Cork, Ireland, to Australia and his time in New South Wales and, secondly, his arrival in Van Diemen's Land, his arrest, his incarceration at Port Arthur, his bushranging exploits as well as his imprisonment on Norfolk Island until he was finally given a full ticket-of-leave in 1855. Considering the fifteen-year gap between Cash's receipt of a ticket-of-leave and the telling of his tales, the effect on accuracy of recall due to 'decay of memory' must be kept in mind.²² By the time of the narration, Cash had experienced twenty-seven years of penal servitude in the Antipodes and lived fifteen more years. Five years were spent in New Zealand and ten as a farmer and local personality in Hobart. The five years in New Zealand from c.1856-60 is not mentioned in the narrative, hence no examination was undertaken. There is little record of how he lived during the fifteen years after receiving his ticket-of-leave. Cash

²⁰ The Lord Rodney Hotel, as a possible writing venue, is examined more thoroughly in 'James Lester Burke Scribe and Co-Author' (Chapter 4).

²¹ Thomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge* was written at Hardy's tiny desk in the alcove overlooking his Dorset farm. His view of a rural landscape and rich farms helped produce a rural evocation of the period. Thus, we may assume that Cash's pub was equally evocative for his narrative.

²² Memory, http://web-us.com/memory/memory_encoding.htm, accessed 12 April 2010.

must be viewed as an ex-convict with deep knowledge of the convict system from an inmate's perspective.

The reason Cash decided to tell his story is open to conjecture. It is likely he was convinced by self or others that a book about his adventures would garner him money. After returning from New Zealand in 1860, Cash continued his celebrity ways around Hobart. It is possible that many of his old ex-convict friends encouraged him to tell his encounters with the unforgiven government penal administrators.²³ It is also credible that some of these men would have served time with Cash and/or Burke. The loathed and long dead Commandant John Price would have still been a name which inspired anger and deep hatred. It is reasonable to think that there was a great deal of vengeance in the hearts of the men and women in the bar of the narrative venue. As a matter of social habit, men in drinking schools frequent the same pubs. Burke, we may assume from the context of the narrative/manuscript, took notes as Cash told his story. This assumption is supported by the many additions and cross-outs in the manuscript, but why Burke made these alterations cannot be known. As an example, the following crossed-out passage is found in only the manuscript and not in any of the editions, including the 1870 edition. The words are difficult to decipher as the passage is heavily marked and appears to have been written hurriedly. The passage reads:

...had been also wounded in a duel while on a visit at his brothers residence Mr Wicklow and that he was then under the care of the doctor but no fears were entertained of his recovery (?)...on receiving sentence it was (?)...on parting me left some money in the hands of the governor of the gaol who was while here (?)... I was visited by (?) Mr Kelly on the (?)...me additional necessaries while there and on the voyage (?)...The remark originated in some trivial recurrence while I (?).²⁴

It is plausible that other material from participating listeners was suggested, sung or quoted; that is a time-honoured system of story-telling which is accompanied by a drinking audience. Some of this added material was noted by Burke, but later crossed out or placed in parentheses. The additional material includes some poetry, government

²³ Having worked professionally with a number of ex-convicts, I remember how much of their conversations were about their continued hatred towards the people who were in charge of them in prison. Cash's narrative contains scores of these tales.

²⁴ Cash, Folios 6 & 7.

information, extra tales and newspaper accounts, some of which are found in the *Addenda*. Some of the interjections were probably taken back to Burke's place of residence where he scribed the final text from his notes.²⁵

In the preface of the 1870 edition we read of citizens from Tasmania, Melbourne and Sydney who apparently paid for the publication.²⁶ The purpose of these men was probably pecuniary as chapbooks of criminals' experiences were very popular at the time. There appears to be no other reason for the sponsoring of a bushranger's tales except possibly to embarrass the government of the day and past administrators. Further, it may be assumed that Cash would have received some money for his narrative and Burke would have received something for his scribing. Because of their predilection for excessive drinking, their fee may have been paid in drink and/or food. Cash probably told his story with many interruptions, laughs and pauses for another fill of his favourite rum or whatever else was on offer that night; indeed, it is likely that sometimes he did not even go home. Cash reveals his drinking predilection in the following account of the 1843 robbery of the Woolpack Inn:

I returned to the bar, where I appropriated a keg containing about three gallons of brandy and immediately repaired to the spot where we had left our knapsacks...having acted the wiser part at the same time reminding them of the brandy which I had brought in anticipation of either of them being wounded, we found a cock in the keg which was verry [*sic*] handy for our purposes and ...Kavanagh took charge of the keg and we retraced our steps in the direction the "dromedary" [*sic*].²⁷

It is possible to imagine the scene with one of the patrons interjecting with, 'Martin, do you remember this poem?' and then, through a veil of drink, reciting a half-remembered, half-forgotten poem the likes of which we find in the manuscript. We may assume that there were many and varied interventionists at the Lord Rodney or other venue and the quality of participation would most likely differ.

²⁵ It would have been impossible for Burke to pen the work solely at the Lord Rodney or any other venue as the words and folios are continuous and maintain a seamless line of folios.

²⁶ Introduction to 1870 edition.

²⁷ Cash, Folios 189 & 190.

Alison Alexander's warning about the value of caution must be heeded here and the separating of truth from untruth must be pursued:

...interviewees [here to be understood as Martin Cash] often provide incorrect information, either from faulty memory,²⁸ through exaggeration, or sometimes wilful misrepresentation for whatever reason.

While Cash's excellent recall is validated in 'Martin Cash and Narrative Reliability' (Chapter 3) his exaggerations and sometimes wilful misrepresentations certainly exist in the narrative.

This study reveals Cash as a rather normal man when he is not being pursued by police or the military. Even lying about his drinking habits may be seen as normal and, when needing some recreation, his forays into larders of the gentry are not unusual. Cash also took pleasure in using money stolen from the landed gentry. Cash states:

...and wishing to enjoy ourselves in the best possible manner I signified my intentions of proceeding to green pond [*sic*] for a bottle of gin observing that in this instance I meant to act on the square by paying for it.²⁹ I...equipped myself with two brace of pistols in my belt surmounted by an overcoat buttoned up...and arrived at Mr Ellis's Tap ...I called for three square bottles of gin...after tying up my bottles in a handkerchief, I passed quite close to him [a constable]...We enjoyed ourselves up to a late hour that night...³⁰

This quote illustrates that Cash did not mind too much what he drank. Cash tells of parties with his outlaw mates and there are many other stories about his noisy celebrations with the B—n family.³¹

Hiener's work helps to validate the accuracy of Cash's story despite a lack of precise chronology.³² The sometimes unclear chronology is to be expected given the boisterous place of narration and the numerous interjections from fellow revellers which conceivably interrupted the flow of story-telling. In addition, given the length of time it took Cash and Burke to complete the work it would have been virtually impossible to

²⁸ Alison Alexander, 'Some Pitfalls of...' *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol 4.1 (1993) pp. 32-33.

²⁹ Green Ponds is now known as Kempton and the old pub, now burned down, was situated a few feet off the highway connecting Launceston with Hobart.

³⁰ Cash, Folios 225 & 226.

³¹ For reasons not known, but possibly to protect the family, Burke changed the name of Bryan to B—n.

³² Hiener, *Martin Cash...*, p. 65.

keep perfect track of sequence. The intervening years most likely blurred Cash's sense of chronology. It is certainly not unusual for a story teller such as Cash to get the chronology confused; after all, for a story teller the aim is to tell the tales not the chronology. It is significant that none of the newspaper stories of the bushranging period are in any way identical to those in the narrative; they are certainly similar, but they have not been not been lifted word for word by Burke. If the chronology had mirrored newspapers of the day in exactness, we would have to assume that Cash's stories were rearranged by Burke according to chronology. They were not.

Rediscovery of the Narrative/Manuscript (1989)

After the thirteenth edition of 1981 was published, Cash's narrative/manuscript was rediscovered. Prior to this discovery, it had been assumed by readers, journalists and historians that editions two to thirteen (1880-1981) comprised the entire Cash story. The 1870 edition consisted of 2,000 copies (printed in two runs) and thereby became a rare commodity, leaving the ensuing truncated editions more available to the public. The assumption that the 1880-1981 editions were the complete Cash story was most likely made by scholars such as Robson.³³ Additionally, popular writers and journalists were apparently seeking a bushranger tale from Tasmania. To mention two are Coultman Smith in *Shadow over Tasmania*³⁴ and Frank Clune's *The Norfolk Island Story*.³⁵ All editions 1880-1981 were identical to each other but not the original 1870 publication.

After approximately 1965, it appears that only one historian knew the approximate whereabouts of the narrative/manuscript. This person was Geoff Stillwell, Head Archivist, State Library of Tasmania, who said that the manuscript was somewhere in the Tasmanian library system. This system had been thrown into some disarray as the result of changing locations, the addition of new buildings and, finally, the removal of material to a completely new space. It appears that there were no people who seemed interested in discovering a possibly lost manuscript. It is probable that no one besides Stillwell even knew of its existence. Only Hiener spoke about seeing the manuscript but, unfortunately,

³³ Lloyd Robson, *A Short History of Tasmania* (Oxford, 1985).

³⁴ Coultman Smith, *Shadow Over Tasmania* (Adelaide, 1967).

³⁵ Frank Clune, *The Norfolk Island Story* (Sydney, 1967).

he left few records. The manuscript was rediscovered in late 1989 by my wife and me. I literally stepped on the large bundle of dust-covered documents. It was almost immediately obvious that we had stumbled upon a potential historical treasure.

Transcribing Cash and Burke's work was arduous. Over 2,200 hours covering one-and-a-half years were needed to decipher the faded Victorian copperplate handwriting and, after intensive investigation, it became obvious that the omitted passages in editions post-1870 presented challenges for appropriate investigation.

The fire which destroyed *The Mercury* printing plant in 1924 also destroyed all records which could have been helpful in understanding the wider publishing practices of the newspaper and its activities. The identity of the gentlemen who appeared to have inspired/financed the publication is not known. Of these men we can only say it is feasible that they paid for the publication but, again, the destruction of records only allows conjecture. We do not know how much money, if any, was given to Cash and Burke and it is not known what relationship, if any, Burke had with the editor(s) of the paper. The fact that the 1870 edition refers to Burke as 'editor' does allow credible projection that Burke and the editor(s) of *The Mercury* collaborated to some extent. The price (printed on the cover) of the 1870 edition was one shilling which put it into the category of the chapbooks of the period and it is known that convict stories, such as convict James Porter's *The Travails of Jimmy Porter, A Memoir 1802-1842*.³⁶ were popular in the many forms in which they appeared. Likewise mainland tales such as those of Captain Thunderbolt were popular.³⁷ Also to be noted is James Tucker's *Ralph Rashleigh* which focuses on convict workers.³⁸

The Cash Legends

It is impossible to examine the Cash narrative/manuscript and not be aware of the mythical dimensions which developed around the man. This is especially obvious when

³⁶ James Porter, *The Travails of Jimmy Porter, a Memoir 1802-1842* (Strahan, Tasmania, 2003).

³⁷ Captain Thunderbolt, <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060379b.htm>, accessed December 2009.

³⁸ James Tucker, ed, *Ralph Rashleigh*, first published 1845, London.

the *Addenda* is examined. The *Addenda*, being a partial composite of the newspaper accounts of Cash's bushranging days, dwells on Cash the rogue who was good to the ladies and a fascination to the male populace and, being tall, strong, athletic, bold and unconventional, he was a perfect candidate for an outlaw legend. In a convict society, such men as Cash might not live long and pass out of life quickly. The fact that Cash escaped the hangman and lived during the Transportation System's collapse (although it is probable that he was not aware of its demise) contributes to his legendary status.

The Cash mythology began almost from the day he escaped from Port Arthur in 1843 and continued until well after his death. Indeed, the many interventionists and opportunists subsequent to the 1870 narrative seemed willing, even eager, to meddle in the Cash saga. Whether the intrusions were made to satisfy egos or for other commercial reasons such as reducing printing costs, increasing sales, or to pacify Victorian mores can only be conjectured. These contributors to the Cash legend (including the editor(s) of *The Mercury*) with their added anecdotes and bowdlerized tales, also subtracted great quantities of print, inserted poetry, added an introduction, expunged the *Addenda* from 1880-1881 and changed grammar and structure in the ensuing editions. Thus, Cash morphed into a type of Robin Hood (in the popular mind) who had been trapped in an evil system but who heroically survived. The extent and depth of the Cash legend is exemplified by the Cash memorial which was erected in Hobart in 1977:

MARTIN CASH MEMORIAL
MEMORIAL TO MARK THE CENTENARY
OF
MARTIN CASH
HE WAS KNOWN AS A GENTLEMAN BUSHRANGER
BECAUSE HE NEVER USED VIOLENCE
HE RECEIVED A PARDON AND DIED A FREE MAN
ON
27 AUGUST 1877³⁹

³⁹ Martin Cash Memorial, erected 1977. It should be noted that it was his death which was commemorated and not his spectacular escape from Port Arthur in 1842 nor his authorship of his book in 1870.

It is curious why some citizens of Tasmania decided to celebrate the death of a bushranger who died one hundred years previously and who was honoured as being a non-violent gentleman. In the course of this thesis it is made apparent that Cash was not a gentleman bushranger and he used violence repeatedly as a tool of trade. However, it is also shown that the mythology of Cash continues to surpass the realities; to overturn his heroic status is probably not possible. It was not unusual to turn outlaws into folk heroes as in the case of Ned Kelly in Victoria or Captain Thunderbolt of New South Wales. Although Thunderbolt was a killer, a larger than life bronze statue was erected in his honour in 1988 by the citizens of Uralla, New South Wales. It was paid for by an Australian Commonwealth grant and designed and cast by Denis Adams.⁴⁰ The statue was unveiled with much pomp and ceremony and attended by a large crowd. There are many other bushrangers who were likewise made heroes as exemplified in Eric Hobsbawm's *Bandits*⁴¹ and Graham Seal in *The Outlaw Legend: A Cultural Tradition in Britain, America and Australia*.⁴²

The seriously abbreviated editions post-1870 and the reduction of the Cash story to near-fable have produced a corrupted and flawed historical source. However, the resurrection of the Cash/Burke manuscript in *Uncensored...*⁴³ has restored the narrative to an important primary source. *Uncensored...* contains the full manuscript without Burke's deletions, insertion of annotations, modifications to grammar/punctuation/spelling and the addition of sub-headings. The result was a more accessible format. This work is the most nearly correct reproduction of the narrative/manuscript but it must be understood that *Uncensored...* is still a corrupted version of the Cash/Burke work because of the additions of the editors' interpretations and comments. This thesis has sought to return to the original manuscript in order to understand the penal system from the long-time experience of Cash and his co-author, Burke, thereby presenting a historical view of colonial Australia through the personal experience of two convicts as distinct from the

⁴⁰ Convict, <http://users.tpg.com.au/users/barrymor/Thunderbolt%20Statue.html>, accessed 15 October 2010.

⁴¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, revised edn (New York, 1981).

⁴² Graham Seal, *The Outlaw Legend: A Cultural Tradition in Britain, America and Australia* (Melbourne, 1996).

⁴³ Emberg, *Uncensored...*

official portrayal. The result should be a clearer concept of what transpired in the minds of convicts and the lower classes and their consequential conduct.

Long Quotes from Manuscript

It must be emphasised that there is only one original narrative/manuscript. That manuscript is in the State Archives of Tasmania. The manuscript, including the *Addenda*, is the total work and was scribed by Burke. Only one copy of the full narrative/manuscript exists and it is in possession of the author of this thesis. Access to the original manuscript is difficult as the hundreds of handwritten foolscap pages are fragile and the staff will allow only a few pages at a time to be examined. Because this thesis is based on the Cash/Burke manuscript, it has been necessary to include long quotes. Where a quote can be truncated without losing meaning, ellipsis has been used and all care has been taken to keep the flow of Cash/Burke's distinctive language and style. Additionally, a website for the entire thesis, notes, *Addenda*, omissions and poetry is being developed.⁴⁴

Illustrative Material

There are a number of times when illustrative material may appear to be extraneous to the body of the thesis, yet, with reference to Abbott's concept of inflective material, this information may be seen as cogent to the point or event which is examined. For this reason a number of extended appendices are included.

Methodology

Upon discovering the Cash/Burke forgotten and neglected narrative/manuscript, the first task was to decipher the faded copperplate and, at times, difficult to read document. The document was then transcribed into Microsoft Word format. This led to the publication of *Uncensored...* the purpose of which was to make the full story of Cash accessible to both scholars and the general public by inserting sub-headings, editorial commentary and interpretation. During this process it became obvious that there was more to the story than the tale of a bushranger's adventures. It became obvious that the degree of

⁴⁴ Will be found at: www.emberg@tasmanian-tiger.com.

truthfulness should be assessed. Because it was co-authored, the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript may be seen as both autobiography and biography and, keeping in mind that few are entirely truthful, the need to unveil the accurate elements from those less truthful (or downright untruthful) arose. Before the degree of accuracy could be established, the veracity of Cash's memory had to be ascertained in view of the span of time between the events (1843-1855) and the narration/publication (c.1869-70). Second, Burke's role as a faithful recorder of Cash's account was examined.

The post-1870 editions were examined and found to be severely truncated. Unveiling the complete manuscript disclosed major omissions in the twelve editions post-1870 and also revealed sections which seemingly had no connection to the Cash story. The restoration of the full manuscript necessitated identification and examination of apparently extraneous material and to restore the 'lost' 33,516 words of the narrative and the 28,985 words of the *Addenda*. This process has been termed 'deconstructing' and 'reconstructing'. The next step was to examine each omission to uncover valuable material that had disappeared in the twelve editions to 1981. The re-establishment of omissions enabled categorization of lost material.

Seemingly unimportant and additional inclusions were at first seen as irrelevant to the study. In applying Abbott's contention that extraneous and sometimes fanciful material inflects narrative, it was found that some of the extraneous material in the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript, whilst not necessarily providing factual information, gave insights into the attitudes and states of mind of men under the punishment of the British penal system.⁴⁵

For instance, initially the poetry in the narrative appeared to be the additions of someone not involved in its production. Once more, Abbott's contention was applied and the result was the realization that seemingly fanciful embroidery and verse which elevated Cash into a mythical hero revealed the patriotism of the Irish under the rule of the British hierarchy. This necessitated a careful analysis of the poems which could easily have been

⁴⁵ Abbott, 'What Do We Mean...' pp. 260-273.

passed over as unimportant. The poetry was sourced and found to be borrowings from Shakespeare to Cowper and contemporary Irish verse and certainly not from an illiterate Wexford man.

The extent to which Cash's account is accurate to real events, real people and real facts was examined; accordingly, the degree to which the story is fact or fiction was determined through an investigation of convict records, newspaper accounts, government papers, other convict writings of the time and the cross-referencing of names, places and events reported by Cash in his narrative. Keeping in mind that biographers/auto-biographers are frequently tempted to exaggerate, self-aggrandize, punish others, defend themselves or tell outright lies, it was assessed to what extent Cash was lured by these temptations. By the process of triangulation it was possible to identify some untruths and misrepresentations but, since they are identifiable, their impingement upon the truthfulness of the narrative/manuscript, while interesting, was not necessarily relevant.

The reason for Cash's illiteracy required investigation which entailed research into the circumstances of his childhood such as his social status, his access to education, the social climate of the historical and geographical place of his early years and his socialisation as a growing boy. The degree to which Cash's illiteracy may have impinged upon his memory led first to establishing that he was, indeed, illiterate. This was followed by research into the relationship between illiteracy, intelligence and memory.

In order to do this the entire narrative was examined in terms of 'names, places and events' and then matched with records, maps and other data of the period to determine to what extent Cash's memory was accurate as to time and place. Four hundred and ten items were examined and categorized. The discovery was that Cash's memory appeared to be, for the most part, remarkably accurate.

Burke's role in producing the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript was carefully considered. Establishing his function as sole scribe entailed the use of graphology, lexicography and the identification of consistently misspelled words, distinctive phraseology, frequently

used words and consistent errors in grammar. This was done by a series of global searches, tedious counting of selected words, considering his other writings and investigating his convict entries. The effect of Burke's heavy drinking on his capacities to produce such a manuscript needed to be ascertained. His record confirmed his drunkenness and the conclusion that he was at the least a periodic drunk became clear. To ascertain the degree his alcoholic bouts impinged upon the narrative/manuscript, regularity in handwriting, his clarity of line and consistency in formation of letters revealed Burke's continual careful control in producing the work.

It could have been tempting to view Burke as the simple editor as mentioned in the first edition. However, his role with Cash was much more complex as it became obvious that he was also co-author of the work. This was done from an understanding that an illiterate person who is dictating a letter or story does not have full control of the finished product. By identifying and separating the Cash voice from the Burke voice it became apparent that Burke's role was more complex than that of a simple scribe. It was possible to read the narrative and come to the conclusion that two uniquely different people were partners in the full narrative.

In establishing the degree to which the narrative/manuscript had been used by scholars, a number of historical and related works by historians and also the work of popular writers were examined. The contemporary press was examined as was the more modern press of the twentieth century with a view to determine the extent to which information from the Cash/Burke work was used. It became apparent that neither the narrative/manuscript nor the 1870 edition was used, not necessarily out of scholarly neglect but because the manuscript was not available and the 1870 edition became difficult to obtain because of the limited numbers printed. Hence, further investigations about Cash and his story would have possibly ended with the reading of any post 1870 edition.

Partially because of the belief that the truncated editions post-1870 told the complete story of Cash, folkloric legends developed. Possible reasons were assessed by determining the motives of editors in selecting what was to be omitted and what was to

be retained. It became apparent that their aim was to simply produce an adventure story placing Cash in the mode of a mythic hero and thus publishing a successful chapbook. The effect upon the popular concept of the Cash story was to create a series of tales which gave to Cash the patina of being a folk hero. It became necessary to consider this folkloric view to determine its source and dispel this inaccurate concept.

The writings of other historians were examined to assess their presentation of Cash in order to establish whether or not they used the narrative/manuscript and/or the 1870 edition. This aspect of the study included the effect of the popular press upon the widely held concept of Cash and the development of the folkloric tradition concerning Cash and his gang.

A careful reading of Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life* uncovered one of Clarke's basic sources for his famous novel of 1874.⁴⁶ Fifty-five passages from the Cash/Burke narrative were compared with similar passages in *For the Term*.... A study of a few of these revealed definite commonality between the two works. Fifteen comparison/references are found in 'Master Muster Frank Belstead's 1896 Letter' (Appendix 3). With the guidance of a lawyer/barrister, the tool of circumstantial evidence was applied to the question which asked if Clarke was dependent upon the Cash/Burke narrative for his novel. The purpose was to establish the degree to which Clarke borrowed from Cash. That the Cash/Burke narrative was a primary source for Clarke's novel was found to be 'probable'.

The bibliography presented some issues. The extent of the literature available for research became compounded during the past two years by the explosion of material available on the internet and thus the digital literature has proliferated almost exponentially. The decision had to be made as to what should be included in the bibliography. The requirement of including material cited in footnotes has been followed. Further to this, it was necessary to decide if and what other sources should be

⁴⁶ Marcus Clarke, *For the Term of His Natural Life*, (Rosny Park, 1874) c.2000.

included. For instance, Porter Abbott's work on narrative became very important to the study of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. His insights concerning the relevance of inflective material allowed a freedom of interpretation and opened the importance of seemingly extraneous material to a larger understanding of the social milieu and mindset of the period studied. Accordingly, it was decided to include literature examined as well as material cited in the footnotes. This especially applies to the inclusion of websites which contained relevant material not necessarily cited.

Through the process of deconstructing the narrative/manuscript into its many parts and then reconstructing the biography/auto-biography by the re-establishment of 33,516 omitted words and the 28,985 words of the *Addenda* has revealed a valuable Australian historical resource from the time period of 1810-1855.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is no evidence to suggest that any historian, other than this author, has examined the Cash/Burke manuscript as a historical document. It must be emphasised that the manuscript is a convict narrative as opposed to a bushranger narrative, although it does contain elements of this genre as well.

Some difficulties arise within the narrative/manuscript because of seeming discrepancies. The full narrative/manuscript was first made available to the *Mercury Steam Press*, Hobart, following the final session at the place of narration and after Burke had time to scribe the entire work. Many alterations were made by the editors for what they considered necessary revisions for the first edition. These revisions and amendments number many hundreds of grammatical, style and sometimes minor content modifications. Any alteration or omission from the narrative/manuscript must be viewed as an error as the full narrative⁴⁷ is the original and only primary source of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript.

In April of 2008, Babette Smith's *Australia's Birthstain* was published.⁴⁸ In her work Smith gives the impression that she studied the original Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. However, it would appear that instead of viewing the original manuscript she took some of her ideas from *Uncensored...*⁴⁹ This book was not a fully accurate representation as it was edited for easier and more popular reading of the full narrative/manuscript.⁵⁰ The decision was made when transcribing *Uncensored...* to be aware that the work was not to be viewed as an academic presentation. Nonetheless, the only true representation of the narrative/manuscript is kept in the Archives of Tasmania and all editions have varying degrees and numbers of errors and even the 1870 edition is not without changes. Instead,

⁴⁷ It is necessary to remind the reader that the narrative is that which was spoken by Cash and the manuscript is a combination of the narrative and the *Addenda*.

⁴⁸ Babette Smith, *Australia's Birth Stain* (New South Wales, 2008) back fly-leaf.

⁴⁹ Emberg, *Uncensored...*

⁵⁰ Martin Cash, James Lester Burke, ed, *The Adventures of Martin Cash* (Hobart Town, 1870).

we sought to give the new reader and those who had read the truncated editions from 1880 to 1981, the full and accurate storyline. *Uncensored...* was never intended to be a reference or historical work. However, B. Smith in *Birth Stain...* gave the distinct impression that she had viewed the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. In *Uncensored...* various structures, chapter headings and scores of other alterations were made for more immediate and popular understanding of an important work. *Uncensored...* restored omissions which had been edited out of all editions post-1870.

There is no malevolent intention to attack B. Smith's work and thus show this thesis is of a better quality. She was either wrong in her memory or not careful enough with her notes. Her knowledge of Cash's actions is definitely better than any other writer examined; however, she also shows the consistent errors about Cash which are still endemic. For instance, she talks about Cash as another gentleman bushranger in the tradition of Michael Howe in 1816.⁵¹ However, if the original Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript had been studied, B. Smith would have discovered that 'gentleman Cash' was also a violent, vengeful and murderous plotter and calling him a gentleman bushranger is a misnomer given to Cash by the media of the 1840's and continues into the twenty-first century. He was hated and feared as much as he was celebrated for being a free spirit who gave the government spirited agonies. This is carefully examined in 'Omissions The Book Within the Book' (Chapter 5). B. Smith does not balance these mutually hostile aspects of Cash but opts for a mime of the popular press. She states:

Publication of the Cash autobiography took the reader behind ...headlines. It [Cash's work] also satisfied enormous curiosity in the Australian colonies generally about what happened at Port Arthur and on Norfolk Island. No one had ever been there except for a small percentage of prisoners and the officials who managed the settlements. What Cash had to tell was sensational at the time because it was new.⁵²

When B. Smith explains that Cash's work was sensational news throughout the colonies, two aspects should be explained. Firstly, there were only 2,000 copies of the 1870 edition and this was the only edition which contained both the omitted components and the *Addenda* until *Adventures...* went out of print in 1981. Also noted in the bibliography

⁵¹ B. Smith, *Australia's Birth...*, p. 318.

⁵² B. Smith, *Australia's Birth...*, pp. 318-319.

is that there were two editions (one reprint) in 1870. That means the first run sold out quickly and the re-run was published before the end of the year (1870). Such a small number of books centred upon Tasmanian distribution was hardly enough to cause an intellectual revolution or sensation. Secondly, she states that Cash's New South Wales experience:

...was fully and at times lyrically described in the original manuscript but heavily edited for publication. In some editions, the New South Wales section was virtually omitted altogether.⁵³

I admit ignorance concerning Cash's involvement in any of the poems or other lyrical material. His narrative comments in the omitted parts of the manuscript are yeoman-like, matter of fact and definitely not lyrical. B. Smith follows the above quote with '...when checking the memoir against archival documents, a historian soon discovers that, generally speaking, the Cash memoirs are accurate'.⁵⁴ At this point it appears likely that B. Smith had accepted *Uncensored...* as identical to the narrative/manuscript. To repeat, *Uncensored...* is not true to the original and I believe this is her error as the only valid archival document which is true is the narrative/manuscript. There were many times I could not decipher Burke's faded penmanship and had to make educated guesses. The introduction to *Uncensored...* states:

The transcribers have been as faithful as possible to the handwritten text. On some occasions we had to guess at words. In a few instances, passages were indecipherable and we have indicated these parts. We have modernized the spelling...⁵⁵

Also added were chapter and topic headings which altered the layout considerably. In referencing, B. Smith provides no page or folio number from the manuscript. Putting the above together, my strong feeling is that B. Smith did not view the original manuscript and did not quote from it. I could find no requests for viewing the Cash manuscript at the AOT. Instead, it appears she has quoted from *Uncensored...*! While she appears to be accurate about Cash, her reporting that she quoted from the original Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript is faulty.

⁵³ B. Smith, *Australia's Birth...*, p. 318.

⁵⁴ B. Smith, *Australia's Birth...*, p. 318.

⁵⁵ Emberg, *Uncensored...*, p. vi.

Popular opinion will seldom fully accept facts once a story becomes mythic. Cash became part of the bushranger mythology almost on the day he, Kavanagh and Jones escaped from Port Arthur. It is easier to accept popularized ideas rather than scholarly corrected insertions. A case in point is the many errors endemic in the newspaper accounts of the 1843 period when Cash was marauding. Local papers, as a matter of course, sensationalized the Cash gang's exploits. *The Courier Mail's* story is but one of many.⁵⁶ The Cash/Burke record may be corrected in a scholarly manner but little will be done to right the false mythologies that have arisen. Inadvertently, it may be that future writers will view *Uncensored...* as the full and unexpurgated Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript ...which it is not.⁵⁷

James Boyce's work, *Van Diemen's Land*, breaks new ground but also compounds accumulated errors surrounding Cash, either through ignorance or dismissal of the Cash narrative/manuscript and the 1870 edition.⁵⁸ Boyce's work solidifies more than 100 years of gathered errors about Cash by informing his reader:

Bushrangers mocked this free-settler snobbery. One of them, Martin Cash, liked to arrange for convict servants to smoke and drink in their master's presence during his hold-ups of rural estates, with one particularly sensitive settler once placed at the foot of the table, between two of his own men. Cash noted that this was 'enjoyed exceedingly' because 'of the notions of exclusiveness entertained by the former.'⁵⁹

A careful reading of the manuscript does not substantiate Boyce's description of Cash's *modus operandi*. This provides one more example of the inaccuracies and misinformation arising from the edited editions post-1870. Why Boyce used the truncated 1929 Fifth Edition as his primary source is not known.⁶⁰ As a historian, he

⁵⁶ *The Hobart Town Courier Mail*, 'Cash in further depredations' (17 March 1843) p.2.

⁵⁷ With the passage of time, chimeras often become mythological and mythologies can become parables which, in turn, take on an aura of truth and community acceptance. Once this acceptance has taken place, trying to correct misconceptions may be impossible. A classic case in point is found in a tale from the American Revolutionary War. The Battle of Bunker Hill was not fought on Bunker Hill. The Battle of Bunker Hill was fought on Breed's Hill. When visiting (1955) the Battle of Bull Run (US Civil War) the guide insisted that because of the rivers of blood which flowed from the soldiers' wounds, grass did not grow for years on the battle ground. Of course that is not true.

⁵⁸ James Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (Melbourne, 2008).

⁵⁹ Boyce, *Van Diemen's...*, p. 159.

⁶⁰ Boyce does note that the 1929 edition was his source and that the 1870 edition was the original. However, he does not list the number, which is the Fifth Edition. Thus, he too infers the two editions are the same.

acknowledged the existence of the original 1870 work. Assuming that Boyce was unaware of the accessibility of the Cash manuscript and the 1870 edition, it is a mystery why he did not use *Uncensored...* as a source. Obviously, Boyce, like many of the colonial historians, was unaware of *Uncensored...* as well as the existence of the manuscript and the basic accuracy of the 1870 edition. By 2008 *Uncensored...* was in its third printing. Boyce unknowingly perpetuated the Robin Hood mythology of Cash. His work gives scholarly lift when, on the fly leaf, Tasmanian novelist Richard Flanagan, a historian of Colonial Tasmania and convict Van Diemen's Land, states that the book *Van Diemen's Land* is 'the most significant colonial history since *The Fatal Shore*⁶¹ in re-imagining Australia's past, it invents a new future'.⁶² Flanagan's compliment in placing *Fatal Shore* as being in the forefront of significant history is open to argument. Questionable is the statement that serious historians can 'imagine' a past or 'invent' a new future.

Robert Hughes, a person of high literary standing, is best known as an art historian. That does not preclude him from being an important contributor to Tasmanian colonial history. There are numerous popular histories of high quality written by non-academic historians. Especially noted is C.E.W. Bean's, *Bean's Gallipoli: The Diaries of Australia's Official War Correspondent*.⁶³ Bean, while not a historian, as a correspondent during much of the Gallipoli campaign was a front line witness to the events. While he had a bias for the Australian soldier, he was accurate for the most part in his observations. Kemal Ataturk, the opposing commander, was also the subject of many studies. Hanns Froembgen's biography, *Kemal Ataturk* was a popularized story.⁶⁴ The book has no bibliography or footnotes and contains a number of unsubstantiated dialogues.⁶⁵ Yet Froembgen's work was a popular book of choice and viewed as authoritative and certainly was instrumental in extending the myths concerning Ataturk.

⁶¹ Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore* (London, 1988).

⁶² Boyce, *Van Diemen's ...* p. flyleaf by Richard Flanagan.

⁶³ C.E.W. Bean, *Bean's Gallipoli: The Diaries of Australia's Official War Correspondent*, 2nd edn (New South Wales, 2007).

⁶⁴ Hanns Froembgen, *Kemal Ataturk: A Biography* (New York, first printed 1935, reprinted 1971).

⁶⁵ When living in Turkey during the 1980s, Froembgen's book concerning Ataturk was a popular choice in Turkish bookstores.

On the other hand, Hughes' accurate observations concerning the convict period are tempered by a few questionable assertions. Hughes' statement that Cash escaped from Port Arthur four times is wrong. In fact, Cash escaped twice. Hughes also describes Van Diemen's Land as a small island. This is not the case as Tasmania is 68,332 square kilometres, an area larger in size than nineteen countries in Europe and seventy-two nations which belong to the United Nations. He also claims that Van Diemen's Land had few trees. Despite the incursion of the forestry industry upon native vegetation, Tasmania still has some of the largest standing forests in Australia. The fact is that in 2011 native forest covered approximately 3.2 million hectares of Tasmania which is approximately one half of its total land area.⁶⁶ In Cash's time the area of forest would have been much larger. This information puts into dispute Hughes' claim:

They [bushrangers] could no longer strike from virgin wilderness to prosperous farm or town in a day's walk, or even a day's ride. They were left without cover, like foxes in a bare field.⁶⁷

To be fair, it is highly doubtful if Hughes knew about the original manuscript. Concerning bushranging and the Van Diemen's Land milieu and landscape of the nineteenth century, one must state that Hughes had done considerable research about the convict system and a few small errors should not impact significantly upon his work. However, this lack of full information continued to be a problem concerning the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. Without access to the full manuscript it cannot be expected that scholars could write about that which was not known.

The severely truncated editions which followed 1870 eventually numbered over 50,000 copies. It would have been relatively easy to purchase one of the latter versions such as the seventh 1961 edition, thinking it was the complete story of Cash the bushranger.⁶⁸ It is easy to read the verso of the ninth edition and believe the edition to be the complete story of Cash. However, the incomplete editions have a ring that there must be more to the tales as so many of the stories seem to be incomplete. This miasma has clouded the

⁶⁶ Map, <http://www.daff.gov.au/rfa/regions/tasmania/info-factsheets/forest>, accessed 18 October 2010.

⁶⁷ Hughes, *Fatal...*, p. 234.

⁶⁸ B. Smith in *Australian Birth Stain* does not note the editions she used. Instead, she merely catalogues the date of 1972, p. 380. Apparently she was unaware of the plethora of Cash editions.

historical record. Instead, attention was paid by most writers to the plethora of personal stories, newspaper accounts, governmental reports and records from the colonial period. This data, apart from its general value and interest, gives virtually no insight into the manuscript's merit. Marcus Clarke in *For the Term...* had obviously read Cash's 1870 edition as Clarke's work first appeared for sale in Melbourne in 1874. He states in two minor endnotes his use of the Cash source, especially in the latter chapters, as an inspiration for his novel. This discussion may be found in full in 'The Influence of the 1870 Edition Upon Marcus Clarke's 1874 *For the Term of His Natural Life*' (Chapter 7).

Additionally, most error-prone popular works by journalists and authors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and now into the twenty-first century, incorrectly depict Cash as the ebullient scallywag who robbed from the rich to give to the poor. For example, Coultman Smith is typical of many writers who did not know about the manuscript or the value of the 1870 edition. He inadvertently damaged the historical record by making broad assumptions such as stating that Cash wrote his memoirs. This is typical of the many articles written by some post-1843 writers who wrote about Cash and his gang. The only historian, Hiener, of all the writers concerning Cash, mentions the original manuscript⁶⁹ or appears knowledgeable of its content. C. Smith's proper documentation is virtually absent as are the vast number of journalists' reports. Clune, who undoubtedly seriously studied the Tasmanian archival records,⁷⁰ sought to write a novel about Cash. This is highlighted when he states that Cash '...wrote...his autobiography'.⁷¹ It is not known if Clune knew about the Cash/Burke manuscript as the correspondence between the Archives Office of Tasmania and Clune do not record that he was informed of Cash's illiteracy nor the existence of the manuscript. We therefore have to assume Clune's error is typical of the concurring and recurring errors almost all post-1870 writers shared.

One of the least accurate accounts, and unfortunately one of the most popular, is found in C. Smith's *Tales....* Smith borrowed his stories from newspaper accounts and the

⁶⁹ Hiener, *Martin Cash...*, pp. 65-75.

⁷⁰ There are dozens of letters in the 1960's between Clune and Tasmanian archivists as Clune sought more information about Cash and the period.

⁷¹ Clune, *Cash...*, p. 205.

truncated Cash editions post-1870. He gave a partial appraisal of Cash and the period of 1828-1855, mostly from the view of other journalists. C. Smith did not examine Cash's murderous intentions to kill Aboriginal trackers or his *de facto* wife, Eliza, who was then possibly living with another man in Hobart. Nor did C. Smith mention Cash's intimidating stick-ups and terrifying break-ins on innocent settlers. C. Smith asserts that '...he (Cash) and his partners were the last of the breed on the scene...he became a legend in his own time as a kind of latter-day Robin Hood'.⁷² Here C. Smith recapitulates the tale of almost all popular writers, thereby escalating the myth of Cash as Robin Hood and seemingly seeking to turn the tale into an allegory of good and evil. C. Smith and other writers seldom wrote negatively about Cash, seeking instead to make the man a heroic figure. Cash, while an endearing character in many ways, was a man of dark and dangerous abilities. He robbed from the poor as well as the rich and usually kept the plunder for himself and his mates such as the B—n family on Cobb's Hill. A study of Cash's narrative/manuscript must view him as sometimes dangerous and vindictive. It was not a polite side of Cash that William Gates (American convict in Van Diemen's Land) speaks of in his observations of the event of Cash's stickup of the house to which he (Gates) was assigned as a convict.⁷³ Men, naked from the waist down, were brought into Mr Kimberley's large dining room with hands tied behind their backs. Kimberley's daughters were hurriedly brought scantily clothed into the room which, in the polite world of the Victorian period, would have been abhorrent.

C. Smith's errors in quoting other journalists must be understood in the light that he did not have the manuscript at hand and chose to repeat the tales already in circulation and accepted by the community. He continued the dissemination of these myths by claiming that Cash was the most famous and best documented bushranger of Van Diemen's Land without documenting this general statement. Instead, he stated that '...he (Cash) and his partners (Kavanagh and Jones) were the last of the breed on the scene...'.⁷⁴ He further asserted that '...the gang's adventures display an appreciation for humour rare among

⁷² C. Smith, *Tales of Old...*, p. 145.

⁷³ William Gates, 'Recollections of Life in Van Diemen's Land, Part II', George Mackaness, ed, *Australian Historical Monographs, Vols. XIV & XV*, first published in *Australian*, 1859 (Sydney, 1961).

⁷⁴ C. Smith, *Tales of Old...*, p. 145.

criminals....⁷⁵ Obviously, Smith had little working knowledge of the incarcerated and seems to lack insights into criminals' behaviour. Humour is just as prevalent in prison as it is in general society. Nonetheless, this use of journalists' writing did not stop C. Smith from making leaps of personal opinions. It is necessary, therefore, to review C. Smith's scholarship when he writes: '...on Norfolk Island, for some reason on which history is silent, Cash and Kavanagh avoided each other'.⁷⁶ History is certainly not silent and this statement by Smith is not factual. Cash, on his own admission, tried to persuade Kavanagh to move away from the troubles about to happen on Norfolk Island when he said:

I earnestly remonstrated with him [Kavanagh] on the part he was taking in this wretched drama, pointing out to him the despairity [*sic*] of our Sentences,[*sic*] and also the probability that existed of his getting back to society but it was all to no purpose, I generally received a rebuke in return for my proffered friendship.⁷⁷

Cash also tells of the extended time he spent with Kavanagh just before he was hanged on Norfolk Island.

The unfortunate mens [*sic*] death warrants having been read and the morning appointed for their execution Kavanagh requested to see me on the previous evening... On seeing me he held out his hand and appeared to be verry [*sic*] much affected...he observed that had he taken my advice it would have saved him from an ignominious death on the scaffold...I endeavoured to convince him that he had my entire forgiveness, and having remained with him for the next quarter of an hour...⁷⁸

The results of the inaccuracies, unobstructed by serious historical examination, reveal continuing and trenchant errors about Cash. Such scholarship became imbedded in the chapbooks of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Highly questionable scholarship is also found in a comic book published for Australian schools to popularize Australian history. We must not view Van Asten's *Bushrangers* as valid history.⁷⁹ However, Van Asten's comic book popularizes the mythic Cash and is another example of how Cash's story has been corrupted. It is unfortunate that Van Asten's comic book is still used in some Tasmanian primary schools. There are thirteen errors in this popular comic, some

⁷⁵ C. Smith, *Tales of Old...*, p. 147.

⁷⁶ C. Smith, *Tales of Old...*, p. 154.

⁷⁷ Cash, Folios 323, 324, 334, 335 & 339.

⁷⁸ Cash Folios 353 & 354.

⁷⁹ David Van Asten, *Bushrangers* (Melbourne, 1986) pp. 1-24.

of which are: Cash was not transported for attempted murder; he was not pardoned and then sent back to gaol in New South Wales; he did not build a log fort on Mt Dromedary; he did not begin his bushranging from the fort; he did not rob people in order to bring back trinkets to his wife; Eliza and Cash did not live a merry life back at the fort; Cash was not given his Ticket-of-Leave on Norfolk Island; Cash did not serve as the gardener at the Hobart Botanical Gardens. Many of Van Asten's assertions are not particularly important but serve to point to the lack of rigour on the part of writers who concerned themselves with Cash and apparently sought to embellish another bushranger story.

The Reverend Terry Southerwood, twentieth century Catholic Church historian of the convict era, writes of Cash's encounters with Tasmanian Bishop Robert William Willson on Norfolk Island and Tasmania.⁸⁰ Some of these meetings are documented in Cash's narrative in the chapter concerning Norfolk Island. Willson, like Father Therry, tried to minister, unsuccessfully, to what he perceived were Cash's spiritual needs. Cash's narrative reveals how he did not want the clergy to attend him and resented their attention. He was an unrepentant non-believer with a deep antagonism towards the church which probably began in his forced religious education in the Hedge Schools of Ireland. However, from the following quote we may surmise that Cash had a deep respect for Father Therry:

I...remembering while lying in our camp he [Jones] abruptly observed that should he ever be taken alive he would avail himself of the services of the Revd Mr Therry who he imagined was the only truly pious man in the Colony and in his opinion reflected credit upon any profession or creed to which he belonged I quite agreed with him in this...⁸¹

Cash's general dislike of the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant denominations was entrenched. However, his grudging admiration for Father Therry possibly came about because Therry visited Cash when he was in prison and not because of any personal religious awakening on Cash's part.⁸² Southerwood, in his apologia for Bishop Willson

⁸⁰ W. T. Southerwood, *The Convict's Friend: A Life of Bishop Robert William Willson* (George Town, Tasmania, 1989) pp. 10-49.

⁸¹ Cash, Folio 246.

⁸² Cash, Folio 301.

in *The Convicts' Friend*, reveals some meetings between Cash and clergy.⁸³ These give insight into Cash's persona as well as his behaviour patterns and substantiate his dislike of the Roman Catholic Church in particular. In Cash's narrative concerning Norfolk Island there are many negative references to the clergy.⁸⁴ These include not only Cash's attitude toward the Catholic clergy but his conflict with Protestant clergy whom he saw as opportunists. In an encounter just before he was to leave Norfolk Island, Cash was visited by the Protestant minister, the Reverend Mr Lucas:

While awaiting trial at the Constables quarters the Revd Mr Lucas called on me and enquired my reasons for refusing my new appointment, [to be a constable as appointed by Price] expressing his surprise that I would act so imprudently...he left me abruptly exclaiming Martin I pity you [*sic*]...⁸⁵

Southerwood also records an incident which took place immediately after Cash's attempt to kill his *de facto* wife's lover and possibly Eliza as well. While being pursued by an angry mob, Cash shot and killed Constable Winstanley. Father Therry and other clergy shortly thereafter visited Cash in prison. Cash's response is one of derision and satire.

Southerwood, filled with the awe of Church power, relates:

Soon after his arrival, the Bishop, accompanied by Father Hall and Father Bond, [Cash was to know Bond and Hall on Norfolk Island] called at the prison to visit the notorious bushranger, Martin Cash. The convict later claimed that the benevolent interference of this truly holy and good man [the Bishop] had the effect of 'decreasing the pitching of the triangle and the blood-pouring strokes of the lash.'⁸⁶

Southerwood seems to see Cash's answer as wonderful proof of a near miracle brought about by Bishop Willson, or perhaps Father Therry or the other priests in attendance. A devout Catholic like Southerwood could believe that this incident actually changed the angle of the punishment triangle and was proof of a miracle, whereas Cash's comments are most likely his satirical response to the Bishop's theological and pastoral probes. Cash's humour in referring to the Bishop's visit is very much like the satirical humour he often used when confronted by authority figures. Especially is satirical humour used when Cash spoke to or about Commandant John Price:

⁸³ Southerwood, *The Convict's Friend*..., 'Ullathorne's funeral oration for Bishop Willson' p. 105.

⁸⁴ Cash, Folios 350, 351, 353, 374.

⁸⁵ Cash, Folio 402.

⁸⁶ Southerwood, *The Convict's Friend*, p. 47.

I will mention another adventure of his which will prove him [a new constable-to-be] to be a man of infinite resources and worthy to fill the important office of Constable under that verry [*sic*] important and far seeing personage, John Price...⁸⁷

Cash claimed he did not drink, yet he contradicts himself a number of times in his narrative:

...arrived at Mr Ellis Tap without meeting any adventures where I called for three square bottles of gin...after tying my bottles in a handkerchief...I walked leisurely down the Township [*sic*] and in less than an hour joined my mates...we enjoyed ourselves up to a late hour that night...⁸⁸

The above quote does not necessarily prove he was a heavy drinker. There are numerous other examples of Cash drinking with his mates at their hideout on the Dromedary Mountain. How many heavy drinkers tell the truth about their input is a question with its own answer. The record contradicts Cash's statements about not being a drinker as his death certificate stated that Cash:

Died 21 August in the 40th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Victoria (1877).An inquisition indented taken for our Sovereign Lady the Queen at the house of Joseph Smith. Martin Cash came by his death. Agree that the deceased died from Natural Causes namely fatty degeneration of the heart combined with inflammation of the stomach and intestines brought on by account intemperance and not otherwise.⁸⁹

The words 'not otherwise' in the coroner's report can only mean that there was no other possibility that Cash could have died from any other cause except abuse of alcohol. Southerwood continues to explain the life style of the Cash family when he observed from Willson's notes:

Willson took a personal interest in the bushranger, Martin Cash, a 'splendid specimen of a Wexford man'. Who settled down as an orchardist at Glenorchy. The prelate used to visit him in his little cottage, although his wife was 'as tidy a bit of a drunkard as you can find'.⁹⁰

Cash's wife, being as _tidy...bit of a drunkard as you can find', certainly underlines the heavy use of alcohol in the Cash household. There are two other incidents in which Cash

⁸⁷ Cash, Folio 378.

⁸⁸ Cash, Folios 225 & 226.

⁸⁹ Martin Cash, Death Certificate, 27 August 1877, SC 195/7851.

⁹⁰ Southerwood, *Martin Cash, Personal Narrative*, (Hobart, 1870) p. 105.

is visited by the Catholic clergy in Southerwood's work. Taken holistically, Southerwood's contributions help verify Cash's narrative style of humour, his dislike for authority figures and alcohol use within the family.

The most excessive and pervasive errors, and perhaps the most pernicious, may be found in four non-academic works: *The Dictionary of New Zealand/Biography*,⁹¹ *Wikipedia*,⁹² *Bushranger Profiles*⁹³ and *Wilmap*.⁹⁴ These publications continue the ongoing errors made about Cash. It appears that authors frequently felt they could etch whatever they wished as no two articles about Cash are quite the same. They, of course, were not cognizant of the original manuscript which is the reason for this study.

It may be surprising that no historian has used the 1870 edition for further research. This is certainly a conundrum. Apparently, the small number of the first edition became rare and ten years later when the second and truncated edition appeared in the bookshops, this new release was viewed as the Cash document in full. As the second edition was then copied virtually verbatim in all subsequent editions, there seemed to be no need to check the manuscript's origins via the 1870 edition. The two known copies are found in the Rare Books Collection at the State Library of Tasmania. When seeking more copies of the 1870 edition this writer was consistently given the shortened version by the University of Tasmania.

Some inaccuracies which grew out of the lack of scholarship of the original manuscript by later writers are pernicious: Cash was wealthy and literate and transported from Cook [sic]. These research instruments collectively state that Cash received his Ticket-of-Leave in New South Wales where he was notorious (he was not a criminal in New South Wales except that he had been transported from Ireland) and then was assigned to work for Mr Bowman,⁹⁵ a farmer and station owner. These works claim that on his first attempt to escape, Cash swam across Eaglehawk Neck and succeeded. The Neck is a

⁹¹ Dictionary, www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/Print.Essay.asp, accessed March 2007.

⁹² Wikipedia, http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Cash, accessed March 2007.

⁹³ Bushranger, <http://scs.une.edu.au/Bushrangers/cash.htm>, accessed May 2008.

⁹⁴ Wilmap, www.wilmap.com.au, accessed May 2008.

⁹⁵ Cash, Folio 7.

sandy isthmus. On Cash's second and successful attempt at escape with his comrades, the men did indeed swim across the bay. This point was approximately 500 metres west of Eaglehawk Neck and known as East Bay Neck.

...the evening came in sight of Eaglehawk Neck...it was blowing pretty fresh...divesting me of my bundle which I had fastened to my head...the horrible notion shot through my brain that they had been eaten by sharks...I being the first who had every attempted to cross...⁹⁶

Cash and his bushranger partners, Kavanagh and Jones, escaped Port Arthur in December of 1843 and Cash was captured in August, 1844, a period of not quite nine months. Yet we are informed they went on a twenty-month spree. He did not 'nearly escape to Melbourne'. The popularized histories state that Cash and Eliza worked on many farms near Hobart. This is not true. Nor was Kavanagh wounded when he was with Cash on the night Cash was captured. Kavanagh was already in gaol. Finally, when Cash was tried for the murder of Constable Winstanley we are informed by these works that Cash and Kavanagh were condemned to death on the same day. This is erroneous as well. Illiterate Cash did not write his memoirs. These are only some of the repeated errors which continue to plague the story of Cash.

The Cash saga is further popularized in Hudson Fysh's *Henry Reed, Pioneer of Van Diemen's Land*.⁹⁷ Fysh makes similar mistakes presumably because he read the same popular press stories as the above writers reviewed. He obviously did not know about the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript or the 1870 edition. Fysh's comments are basically incorrect when he writes:

Of latter day bushrangers, one of the most colourful was Martin Cash, who had a typical highwayman style, but never wishing deliberately to kill anyone and performing many acts of clemency and kindness particularly towards the ladies. Cash, perhaps more than Brady, deserved the name of 'the gentleman of the roads'. He initially commenced his career of bushranging in escaping from Port Arthur by swimming across the bay at Eaglehawk Neck. Cash was also distinguished by being about the only prominent bushranger who escaped the gallows, though he had killed one man. When captured he was sent to Norfolk Island but later returned to Hobart

⁹⁶ Cash, Folio 166.

⁹⁷ Hudson Fysh, *Henry Reed: Van Diemen's Land Pioneer* (Hobart, 1973).

Town, where he retired into a little cottage with a garden where he became a local identity and was engaged in writing his life's adventures.⁹⁸

A correction of some of Fysh's errors reveals that Cash most certainly plotted the death of the Aboriginal trackers which would have been followed by an ambush in which both Aborigines and soldiers were likely to have been killed.⁹⁹ As stated, he probably plotted the killing of partner, Eliza.¹⁰⁰ To say that Cash was the only prominent bushranger who escaped the gallows is pure fantasy. The idea that Cash lived a quiet life in his garden after his return to Hobart does not fit with his narrative.

Margaret Weidenhofer, local historian from the Tasman Peninsula, made similar mistakes to that of Fysh's. She said of Cash:

In 1854 he received his ticket-of-leave, returned to Tasmania, and received a conditional pardon in 1856. Liked for his good humour, charm and blarney, he was persuaded to narrate his story to James Lester Burke, an Irish expirée and writer...¹⁰¹

Obviously, Weidenhofer was not able to consult the manuscript; instead, she depended on the stories already published, such as C. Smith's and Fysh's. The 'good humour, charm and blarney' of which she writes is simply conjecture. However, it must be remembered that neither Weidenhofer nor any popular writer of the period had access to either the manuscript or the 1870 edition although the manuscript was, by 1965, in the Archives of Tasmania.

As a further example of the perpetuation of the Cash myth is the story of a very large and old cast iron stove. In c.1978 this stove was on proud display in the now defunct museum at Bridgewater on the Derwent River. The accompanying placard placed on the stove made the claim that the artefact was: 'Martin Cash's stove from his hideout cave near the Jordan River'. This local folk tale also stated that the Cash cave was a favourite hideout for Cash and his mates and that, allegedly, the stove was used for cooking and heating. This may make a nice story but such a stove would have to be carried in pieces on

⁹⁸ Fysh, *Henry Reed...*, p. 48.

⁹⁹ Cash, Folios 245 & 246.

¹⁰⁰ Cash, Folios 298 & 299.

¹⁰¹ Margaret Weidenhofer, *The Convict Years* (Melbourne, 1973) p. 89.

horseback and Cash's manuscript reveals that they were almost never on horseback because of the rough terrain of the area.¹⁰² There is oral tradition that such a cave existed. In 1976 Mr B. Mc Shane, a local farmer on whose land a cave was found, insisted that the story was accurate because his father told him and his grandfather 'knew' Cash. Cash's cave is still part of bushranger lore in the Dromedary area and it is still possible to persuade a local citizen to bring you to the Cash Cave. Cash makes no mention of any cave in his narrative.

The myth of Cash was continued into the twentieth century by G. Hawley Stancombe, a writer whose main focus was on the midland gentry of Tasmania.¹⁰³ He perpetuated these errors in his popular *Highway in Van Diemen's Land*. This is exemplified by:

A great stir was caused at this time by the doings of Martin Cash and his band of bushrangers. He was a kind of Robin Hood and boasted that he robbed only the well to-do to the benefit of himself and accomplices rather than the poor, though he was generous to those who did him favours. He was known to have killed but one man, Constable Winstanley, and that in self defence at the time of his capture. Although he generally abhorred violence Cash, in company with Kavanagh and Jones...[attacked] even the most strongly guarded homesteads with a bravado that won him the fear and even the admiration of the whole country.¹⁰⁴

At best, the above passage is inaccurate; at worst, it is simply mythology. To point out Stancombe's faulty scholarship, it is noted that Cash never had a band in the bush as he was accompanied by only two others, Kavanagh and Jones, and when Kavanagh was wounded there remained only Cash and Jones. The error of portraying Cash as a gay Robin Hood was again perpetuated. Cash and his two companions robbed anyone whom they felt could contribute to their coffers. They robbed more rich people than others because, it would seem, the rich had more valuables. Cash also robbed shepherds and stole from farmers' huts:

...we arrived at a shepherd's hut...found a lone woman...dreadfully frightened...all we wanted was arms which in any case we were determined to have...we then appropriated a single barrel gun being all that we could find, a flask of powder and some duck shot...¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Cash, Folios 243 & 244.

¹⁰³ G. Hawley Stancombe, *Highway in Van Diemen's Land* (Tasmania, 1968).

¹⁰⁴ Stancombe, *Highway...*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ Cash, Folio 180.

There are many descriptions of the Cash gang robbing the well to do. One is:

...a verry comfortable farm house where we intended to pay a friendly visit under the shades of night...we found a married couple in bed...Kavanagh had the man secured and was also in possession [*sic*] of the only gun in the house which he loaded on finding some powder and ball...a dish of cherries...a change in our wardrobe...a fashionable Bell topper [hat]...a variety of eatables...Tea, Coffee, Sugar [*sic*]...¹⁰⁶

Cash stole alcoholic drink such as rum or brandy from pubs like the Woolpack Inn:

I returned to the bar, where I appropriated a keg containing about three gallons of brandy and immediately repaired to the spot where we had left our knapsacks. On a subsequent occasion when meeting Mr Cook who we detained in custody, that gentleman informed the public that Kavanagh averred [not in my hearing] that I was slightly wounded at the Woolpack and that it was also he [Kavanagh] who brought the brandy from the public house if these remarks were made it was not in my presence or I should have flatly contradicted it...¹⁰⁷

Cash obviously enjoyed the drama of a burglary upon the wealthy, especially the English upper classes. Shone, Sherwin, Kimberley and other gentry felt the pain of Cash's thefts.

Perhaps the best example of this is the Cash raid upon Mr Shone's estate:

...and as Jones was now engaged in divesting the aristocracy of their superfluous appendages in the shape of Watches, Rings purses etc I was obliged to superintend the business in consequence of the great number of prisoners we had in charge, as upon all such occasions we were obliged to look after Jones's piece. He took a valuable gold watch from Mr McKay, a silver watch from Mr Shone, together with rings, purses, also a miniature portrait of a young lady...¹⁰⁸

The Cash gang was well armed but it took some time after their escape from Port Arthur for them to develop an arsenal. They continued to upgrade their armoury whenever they could. Letters to the editors of the day show that many people wanted Cash killed. There was a dichotomy of opinion throughout Tasmania. He was hated and feared by some¹⁰⁹ and honoured and revered by others.¹¹⁰ Stancombe continues his inaccuracies with his claim of Cash's 'unfailing courtesy to the fair sex' in the following:

¹⁰⁶ Cash, Folio 177.

¹⁰⁷ Cash, Folios 189 - 191.

¹⁰⁸ Cash, Folio 199.

¹⁰⁹ Captain Horton's extremely violent conduct... 'Cornwall Chronicle' (14 July 1843) p.1 & 3.

¹¹⁰ Colonists' sympathy expressed... 'Hobart Town Courier/Mail' (11 February 1843) p.2.

He quickly won fame for his unfailing courtesy to the fair sex, which ultimately secured his reprieve from the death penalty. With headquarters at the Dromedary, from the summit of which they often saw parties of soldiers and constables in search of them, the band roved far and wide, from Epping to Bridgewater, and from Colebrook to the Ouse. But when Kavanagh fell in rough country and shattered his arm with an exploding musket, the end was not far off. Kavanagh gave himself up and Cash was taken when paying a foolhardy visit to Hobart Town.¹¹¹

Although Cash sought to treat the ladies well, there are examples of rough behaviour.¹¹² Divergent to the belief that Cash's popularity with women saved him from the hangman, Cash may have escaped execution more through the growing unease regarding the death sentence than from his dashing personality and kindness to some ladies. From the Cash trial we read in the *Addenda* about the growing unease concerning the death sentence:

Seeing this, and being fully of opinion with those great men who are making such strenuous exertions to abolish the dreadful taking of human blood in retribution for the taking of property...we should rejoice should the Government feel it consistent with their duty to spare the lives of these unhappy offenders...¹¹³

Cash's exploits following his escape from Port Arthur are well documented by the press and by citizens who wrote of the bushranger's daring acts and depredations.¹¹⁴ Consequently, Cash's trial was well attended, especially by women, as the record of the day shows.¹¹⁵ Trials which featured the potential hanging of criminals and bushrangers were part of the local entertainment. Upon the circulation of sensational reports of the trial, Cash's place in popular mythology was assured. The historical dilemma is that the Cash story never succeeded in becoming more than the mythology of Cash. One of the first published tales by someone who knew Cash personally is found in G.F. Mortlock's *Experience of a Convict: ...and Cash*, for having gallantly protected some ladies, whom he would not permit his mates to molest received a mitigation.¹¹⁶ Mortlock, transported to Australia as a criminal, served time on Norfolk Island during Cash's period on the

¹¹¹ Stancombe, *Highway...*, p. 36.

¹¹² William Gates, George Mackaness, ed, *Recollections of Life in Van Diemen's Land, Part II*, Vol. XIV (London, 1865).

¹¹³ *Addenda*, Idem July 14th 1843, p.32.

¹¹⁴ An extensive list of articles is found in the *Addenda* and Bibliography.

¹¹⁵ The extensive reports of the trials of Cash and Kavanagh are found in the *Addenda* after 'Cash's Trial' and 'Kavanagh's Trial'.

¹¹⁶ J. F. Mortlock, *et al*, *Experiences of a Convict Transported for Twenty-one Years* (Sydney, First published 1864-5, 1966) p. 94.

island. Apart from the newspaper literature of the 1843 period, Mortlock's work is the first record (1864) of any oral tradition encompassing Cash. The newspapers of the early Cash era (1844) had already begun these legends. Besides the trial records of Cash and Kavanagh, the *Addenda* features newspaper stories about Cash and his gang from the 1844 period. It is noted that the *Addenda* (pages 1-46) contain fifty-three articles from various newspapers in Hobart. Hence, the quote from the *Addenda* and the page on which it is found is used in this chapter.

The popular press of 1843 began the tales of Cash that made him a local hero for many citizens as well as an evil criminal who should be hanged. Cash's popular press, while he was a convict on Norfolk Island, ceased until he was arrested for drunkenness after he received his Ticket-of-Leave in Hobart in 1857. It was not until 1870 when *The Mercury* newspaper began advertising *Adventures...* that new articles concerning Cash were found in print. By that time the manuscript was privately owned and in Sydney.

James Boyce in *Van Diemen's Land* uncovered some astounding social statistics from 1841, the approximate period Cash was in the bush with his gang. Boyce verifies events as illustrated by Cash in his narrative and states:

...in 1841, out of a population of around 53,000, [in Van Diemen's Land] a staggering 8,732 free people and 11,458 convicts before the courts [just under 3,000 of these were fined for drunkenness in each group]. More than 4,000 people were fined under colonial acts...including for 'insolence,' and 'idleness' and 'insubordination' and these offences were so loosely defined that in practice anyone who lacked the protection afforded by wealth or privilege could be arrested at whim.¹¹⁷

Cash certainly underlines police duplicity when he states from an experience in Campbell Town:

...we had scarcely got a dozen paces from the house...accosted by two constables who expressed a determination to take my companion to the watch house...they departed...again overtaken...observed that she should go with him to the watch house...I struck him with a violent blow...¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land*, p.217.

¹¹⁸ Cash, Folio 95.

From the many similar quotes we may infer that the observations Cash made are worthy of being used by scholars like Boyce. Especially valid in scholarly examinations are the omissions of the 33,516 words. Indeed, the action behind these quotes is almost a mantra endemic in the narrative/manuscript. Words such as 'insolence', 'idleness' and 'insubordination' are frequently used and appear to come from Cash's recollections of his incarceration on Norfolk Island. There is little question that the narrative frequently exemplifies the constables as hardened, malevolent offenders as well as law enforcers. The Cash narrative wastes no time in viewing the constables as simply legal officers doing their job and frequently corrupted.

Boyce adds to this general view of the autonomy and rigidity of constabulary behaviour and thereby helps validate Cash's narrative. He says: 'Even the right to kindle a cooking fire in the bush was regulated'.¹¹⁹ Cash experienced hot pursuit by the authorities many times. For instance, when he and Eliza were camping in the Bothwell area or living in Campbell Town the authorities called upon all resources available to hunt them down. At Bothwell the roughness of the constables is emphasised.¹²⁰ The narrative tales concerning rough and sometimes cruel police is common in his narrative.

Recent up-dating of Robson's work was accomplished by Michael Roe. In the revised version, Roe, like Robson, failed to make a full connection between Cash's narrative and Clarke's *Term...*¹²¹ Roe, in his update of the Robson work, wrote that Clarke's work was simply '...a work of fiction...was lent verisimilitude by the list of official documentary sources attached to it'.¹²² Thus, the importance of the Cash work was missed once more. Robson and Roe were unaware that the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript was an important source of Clarke's work. Clarke's *For the Term...* is examined fully in 'The Influence of the 1870 Edition Upon Marcus Clarke's 1874 *For the Term of His Natural Life*' (Chapter 7).

¹¹⁹ Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land*, p. 217.

¹²⁰ Cash, Folios 94-97.

¹²¹ Lloyd Robson, (updated by Michael Roe), *A Short History of Tasmania* (Melbourne, 2005) p. 16.

¹²² Robson, *A Short History...*, p. 16.

Recent articles about Cash perpetuate and further develop the many errors. An example may be found in *The Companion to Tasmanian History*.¹²³ This University of Tasmania work continues the errors. Oatlands' local historian and guide is a contributor. Peter Fielding relates:

...in narrating his story he had selective memory: that police and robbery victims were cowards, that females were always treated kindly, that he led his gang...his defacto [*sic*] wife Elizabeth probably worked as a prostitute...¹²⁴

The term 'prostitute' was liberally used in the first half of the nineteenth century in Australia. It did not just pertain to sex workers but also was used to refer to women living in *de facto* relationships, so it is possible that Fielding misinterpreted a nineteenth-century report. Fielding's possible misinterpretations were edited by Alison Alexander and serve to compound the 170 years of continuing errors.¹²⁵ Where Fielding extrapolated that Cash's partner '...probably worked as a prostitute...' there is no evidence and no reason to assume that Eliza was a sex worker. Fielding's claim is not supported by any archival information or from any governmental records. He also makes the claim that Cash became a policeman for which there is no proof.

Importantly, in his 1965 Hobart lecture to Australian historians, Hiener made reference to this fictionalization of Cash when he states:

There are, in Tasmania, more alleged relics of Martin Cash than of any other nineteenth century Tasmanian figure. There is about him a heady air of adventure which causes all kinds of authors when they write of him, to forsake fact and enter boyishly into the realms of fiction...Boxhall, Clune and Norman all loved the idea of a Vandemonian Robin Hood, and his paramour had to be the fair and virtuous Maid Marion. James Lester Burk established this legend, a legend which today shows no signs of diminishing.¹²⁶

Before his escape Cash was merely a convict seeking to survive and trying to return to his partner, Eliza.¹²⁷ Thus, this layering of the Cash legend into the historical record

¹²³ Alison Alexander, ed, *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, Tasmanian Historical Studies (Hobart, 2005).

¹²⁴ Alexander, *The Companion...*, p. 66.

¹²⁵ Alexander, *The Companion...*, pp. 66-78.

¹²⁶ W. Hiener, *Martin Cash...*, pp. 65-85.

¹²⁷ Cash, Folios 94-98 & 119-127.

intensified the errors. This has served to perpetuate the problem of uncovering accurate history from an important primary source. Hiener's recognition of the continuing fictionalization of Cash's tales is certainly an accurate insight. Burke most certainly did not establish either the Robin Hood or the Maid Marion saga. This mental set of hero Cash as Robin Hood was established in the 1840's and has been time-honoured for five or six generations and will probably continue for generations more even though this romantic view is a most minor aspect of the narrative/manuscript.

The rendering of Cash's voice is heavily dependent on Burke's conception of Cash's narrative and we must assume that at least some of Burke's ideas are reflected in his portrayal. Maxwell-Stewart emphasises the problem of finding the accurate voice in convict writing. He contends that the convict voice frequently flows from the pens of middle class writers.¹²⁸ For example, while Charles Dickens had no experience of being a convict except that his father spent time in gaol, his writings reflect an understanding of some of the plights of convicts and the nature of prisons. However, though Dickens' works are fiction, many read Dickens' writings as accurate and that he spoke with understanding of the convicts' plight. Of course, the power of Dickens' writings about convicts is how Dickens was viewed by his reading public.

The assumed voice, as interpreted by such writers as C. Smith and others is partially borne out by Cash's narrative, thus giving support to Cash's insights. This theory states that many people think the legend of Cash is accurate because that is what they read in the popular press or hear from others. This logic is basic to The Fallacy of Composition. For instance:

The first type of Fallacy of Composition arises when a person reasons from the characteristics of individual members of a class or group to a conclusion regarding the characteristics of the entire class or group [taken as a whole]. More formally, the "reasoning" would look something like this. 1. Individual F things have characteristics A, B, C, etc. 2. Therefore the whole class of F things has characteristics A, B, C, etc.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *Closing Hell's Gates* (Crow's Nest, 2008).

¹²⁹ Logic, <http://www.nizkor.org/features/fallacies/composition.html>, accessed 28 October 2010.

The above statement contends that if a first premise is false it will be followed by errors and assumptions will be made upon errors and not validities. Another example is the Fallacy of Widespread Belief or *argumentum ad populum*:

The appeal to belief is an informal fallacy of relevance, where it is asserted that since a great number of people believe a proposition is true, it is true...Everyone believes X, therefore X is true [good, right, appropriate].¹³⁰

In the light of the above quote, if a sufficient number of people believe Cash to have been a Robin Hood then he was a Robin Hood with the result that the myth became greater than the man or the actual story.

More than the Fallacy of Composition is invoked as no story line is fully connected to itself. By this is meant that Cash's stories as recorded by Burke are a general collection of events which took place many years prior to the Cash narrative. It can be said that there are many officials in prisons who alter or romanticise the records of convicts and thereby corrupt the voice of prisoners.¹³¹ However, this is not a study of police or government corruption, as people in authority often mask and alter the record for their own aggrandisement and advancement. Cash was a low power wielder except when he was bushranging with his gang.¹³² This is one reason why Cash's oral record, as it flowed through Burke's pen, is important as Cash was in prison for twenty-seven years and while he may have received a few considerations or favours, he certainly had no reason to cast the convict system in a favourable light. He did not speak in any complimentary terms of the prison system. The Cash/Burke work is a scathing renunciation of the penal institution. It may be that finally it will be necessary to speak about the voices of Cash/Burke as one. It is not only tempting to say that the two may be too intertwined to separate fully; it is accurate to refer to both men as authors. This must be examined as the language of the two men appears to be separable enough to make some distinctions.

¹³⁰ Logic, http://huntingthesnark.com/index.php?title=Appeal_to_belief_fallacy_-_informal, accessed 28 October 2010.

¹³¹ The ongoing drama of the death of Carl Williams in a Victorian prison (2011) is an example of the willingness of some authorities to change evidence. It is not an exaggeration to say that this practice has been endemic throughout the history of police reporting.

¹³² Cash speaks of his ability in prison to be a leader. There is no evidence extant to believe he was not. He could then be seen as a power wielder in prison as well and learned how to defer to others with more power such as Price.

Within the narrative there is a Cash voice as well as a Burke voice. Cash's voice is simple and unadorned:

We then crossed the main road and travelled leisurely in the direction of the Tiers near Jerusalem, putting up at a farm house belonging to Mr Stokell, where we found an overseer and some working hands who prepared us a verry [*sic*] excellent breakfast of ham and eggs...¹³³

Burke's voice is more sophisticated:

For the first week I remained at Jerusalem I had not an opportunity of making my escape from this abode of wretchedness, where gaunt Starvation, Tyranny in all its revolting forms and Treachery existed to an unlimited degree.¹³⁴

Philip Rawlings explains there are two modes of narrative literature:

The one, highly structured and univocal, seeks to reintegrate the criminal into the social and moral order, to smooth over the disruptive effects of his behaviour, to digest whatever cruelties he may have committed; the other; disjunctive and ambivalent heightens his disruptiveness, invents and amplifies cruelties, presenting a fractured, etiolated, absurd and often frankly fictitious version of his life and character.¹³⁵

Rawlings, while not commenting about Cash's narrative/manuscript, certainly gives insight into how Cash's words may be viewed. Cash may be seen as seeking to be relatively truthful, but he obviously exaggerates quite freely at times. Throughout his narrative, Cash seeks to explain his behaviour as frequently caused by the penal system which placed him and other convicts in conflict with authority. An example of this is when he worked on the caterpillar gangs in the vicinity of Port Arthur. Here Cash was one of up to forty men forced to carry green logs at least a foot in diameter and forty feet in length through very rough terrain. Men were crushed or killed in this work. Punishment such as this prompted him to escape. Cash suggests that the cruelty of the overseers fed his angers which gave him ample excuses:¹³⁶

I had only been in the gang four days when one of the prisoners...a sickly looking man remained a little in the rere [*sic*] of the party evidently unable to keep up. Stephens [overseer]...laid hold of him and pushed him on before him for a few yards and then gave him a kick which sent poor Thompson and his load to the

¹³³ Cash, Folio 220.

¹³⁴ Cash, Folio 107.

¹³⁵ Rawlings, *Drunks...*, p. 10.

¹³⁶ Cash, Folios 145 & 146.

ground and while down kicked him several times...on the same day [Thompson] received twenty lashes.¹³⁷

The cruelty of the overseers is a recurring theme throughout Cash's incarceration. In one statement Rawlings clarifies what can be viewed as basic to some of Cash's behaviour. An example is Cash's story of an event which took place on Norfolk Island in which he tells about the many cruel behaviour patterns brought about by Price's inhumane treatment of those below him in rank and how the overseers became even crueller than Price:

after passing through a refined system of torture, which has never yet been fully understood by the public...they [prisoners] became if possible more hardened and depraved than before and the Colony of Vandiemens Land [*sic*] have had already sad experience of the effects of John Price's discipline, by the many brutal and atrocious murders afterwards committed by men who being subjected for years to his tantalizing and maddening system of torture...¹³⁸

It is difficult to understand where the line '...highly structured and univocal, seeks to reintegrate the criminal into the social and moral order' may be placed between '...the other; disjunctive and ambivalent [which] heightens his disruptiveness, invents and amplifies cruelties...!' In other words, Cash's narrative is both relatively unexaggerated and at times, contains questionable embellishments. Separating these two aspects of narrative is difficult.

Rawlings also explains that criminal biographies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sold well. Perhaps this was part of a hidden agenda for the publication of Cash's memoirs. Certainly, from these criminal chapbooks, people made money. Concerning works such as the twelve latter editions of the Cash story, Rawlings further states:

...the sheer number of different criminal biographies gives some indication of their popularity...somewhere between two and three thousand biographies have survived the eighteenth century.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Cash, Folio 144 & 145.

¹³⁸ Cash, Folio 364.

¹³⁹ Rawlings, *Drunks...*, p. 2.

There have been many serious writers who attempted to explain why there were so many criminals in the Cash period. In *Exiles from Erin*, Reece says:

Difficult economic conditions and a sense of resentment towards the privileged class of large land owners, together with the poorly-policed conditions of frontier life, encouraged what the authorities and the Sydney newspapers chose to call 'bushranging'.¹⁴⁰

One will find these problems of convict resentments and anger towards the upper classes and feelings of anomie in the Cash manuscript. Angers and feelings help in understanding what Cash and his convict comrades experienced but the veracity of the manuscript is not aided. While scholars such as Rawlings and Reece aid in understanding bushranging and, by extrapolation Cash's experiences, ultimately the narrative/manuscript has to stand on its own merits as a primary source. It is axiomatic to understand that New South Wales was not Van Diemen's Land and Cash was not Captain Thunderbolt. However, Cash was a convict in the same system as all other prisoners.

In *The Search for the Convict Voice*, Duffield¹⁴¹ and Maxwell-Stewart¹⁴² declare that Jack Bushman, a convict writer of the Cash period, wrote stories to pander to middle class values and tastes. These tales appealed to the popular appetite and might have been a motivating force in the Cash narration. This does not appear to be the case. The urge to satisfy popular penchants serves as a warning to any examiner of personal documents and oral histories. There may be, and probably are, hidden agendas in the writing of personal-experience manuscripts. What emotions raged through the old lags as Cash narrated his stories can only be conjectured, but educated guesses must be made. In *Jack Bushman...* Duffield and Bradley point out that when a dialogue is set up between Brooks (one of Bushman's *nom de plumes*) and his '...alter ego, a covert, resistant convict's narrative voice' exists.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Bob Reece, ed, *Exiles from Erin* (London, 1991) p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Ian Duffield, J. Bradley, ed, 'Problematic passages: Jack Bushman's Convict Narrative', *Representing Convicts*, p. 77 & pp. 20-42.

¹⁴² H. Maxwell-Stewart, 'The Search for the Convict Voice', *Tasmanian Historical Studies* 6/1, 2001, pp. 75-89.

¹⁴³ Duffield, ed, *The Search...*, p. 22.

In her work concerning female convicts, Joy Damousi brings new insights and warnings about how to investigate some aspects concerning female convicts of the Cash era.¹⁴⁴ Cash was claimed by the writers of the day to be a lady's man, hence the epithet of 'gentleman Cash'. Hobart's citizens dwelt on his popularity with the ladies as well as his being 'gentleman'. Extra-manuscript sources of 1843 convey Cash's popularity with the women.¹⁴⁵ Cash may have been popular with some females, but this is not what an investigation of the manuscript readily reveals and bears little importance in this textual study. Cash does, however, make references about how he was careful and courteous towards women. This is not necessarily the truth and his experience in Mr Shone's home illustrated this aspect of his personality.¹⁴⁶ However, in his robbery of the stage coach at Spring Hill, Cash shows his gentlemanly nature momentarily towards the widow Cox when he returns stolen items to her.¹⁴⁷ Cash was also a very rough man and a potential killer. The intention of this study is not to examine the gender question except as it supports or does not support the manuscript.

Richetti gives the opinion throughout his work that the convict narratives, even of a time long before the Cash era, were important instruments of communication and entertainment similar to modern day soap operas.¹⁴⁸ Similar to Cash's narrative, the chapbooks of convict stories were popular entertainment of the 1850s. The Big Little Books of the 1930s in America continued the chapbook genre.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps Cash's tale-telling at the narrative venue did have the theatre of a current television drama; but once more, as interesting as this idea might be, such information does not help in a study of the manuscript.

Maxwell-Stewart and Duffield developed theories about tattoos, taboos and the language of body adornments.¹⁵⁰ As recorded in his convict record, Cash had a simple tattoo of

¹⁴⁴ Joy Damousi, *Depraved and Disorderly: Female Convicts...* (UK, 1997).

¹⁴⁵ 'Colonists' sympathy expressed...' *Hobart Town Crier* (11 February 1843) p.2.

¹⁴⁶ Cash, Folios 197-200.

¹⁴⁷ Cash, Folio 271.

¹⁴⁸ J. J. Richetti, *Popular Fiction before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700-1739* (Oxford, 1969) p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ Books, <http://thatprguy.com/samples/BigLittleBooksSalePage.htm>, accessed 1 November 2010.

¹⁵⁰ H. Maxwell-Stewart, I. Duffield & J. Caplan, *Skin Deep Devotions: Religious Tattoos and Convict Transportation to Australia* (Princeton, NJ, 2000) pp. 118-135.

'MC' on his thumb. This tattoo may have been the source of the fanciful tale that Cash carved his initials on the kitchen table at Tedworth, a property south of Oatlands, Tasmania. This story of the carved initials is possibly not true as Cash was illiterate. However, it is possible that he copied his tattoo onto the kitchen table with a pen knife or other instrument and could have been able to carve his initials.¹⁵¹ Yet again, someone of another year could have put those initials without reference to Cash. However, folklore does continue the story that the initials are genuine. Such stories may not be relevant to the manuscript but they are important regarding the subsequent history of the folklore of Cash.

Aside from his time in gaol in Cork, Ireland, and waiting for a ship to bring him to Australia, Cash's entire time as a convict was spent during the Transportation period in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land or Norfolk Island.¹⁵² Ian Brand's work on the probation system assists in understanding how Cash was unfortunate to be caught between the two penal systems of the Assigned System and the Probation System. Thus Cash's views must be acknowledged as important because he spanned the two incarceration systems. In New South Wales Cash found himself in virtual bondage to Mr Bowman.¹⁵³ Bowman, a very rich and aggressive owner of much land and thousands of heads of cattle and sheep, was also a magistrate of the court whose wife became involved in the day to day meting of justice. Examples of his aggression are redolent in Cash's accounts of his assignments with Bowman while in New South Wales. The Probation System was considered by Brand to be a measured failure.¹⁵⁴ From the view that only an insider could have, Cash attests to the breakdown of the penal system as did Mortlock.¹⁵⁵ Brand explains:

The failure of the probation system was largely responsible for the dismissal, in 1846, of Lt. Gov. Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, as well as for the rise and intensity of the anti-transportation movement in Van Diemen's Land and, by no means least, for the further degradation of many of its victims, the convicts themselves.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ The writer has seen the 'MC' on a bench in the old carriage house at Tedworth.

¹⁵² Ian Brand, *The Convict Probation System: Van Diemen's Land 1839-1854* (Hobart, 1990).

¹⁵³ Cash, Folios 8-10.

¹⁵⁴ Brand, *The Convict Probation...*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵⁵ J.F. Mortlock, G.A. Wilkes & A.G. Mitchell, eds, *Experiences of a Convict Transported for Twenty-one Years*, first published 1864-5 (Sydney, 1966).

¹⁵⁶ Brand, *Convict Probation...*, p. 2.

As Cash was on trial in 1843 and scheduled to be hanged by the end of the year or in 1844, it is possible that Cash was reprieved to a life sentence on Norfolk Island because of disagreements on the part of officials as to the efficacy of capital punishment. Certainly, Judge Montagu was of two minds about Cash's trial and sentencing.¹⁵⁷

It is a feature of the manuscript that Cash knew he was caught in and between the latter Price period on Norfolk Island and the easier time of Major Childs.¹⁵⁸ While on Norfolk Island, Cash decided that above all other considerations, he would now survive and not fruitlessly fight the systems:

...thinking that having me now in his [Price's] power he would retaliate and by his persecution drive me to do that which would cause my Destruction. However I made up my mind to meet the trouble that I imagined that was impending and bear with it as well as I was able, as I earnestly longed for liberty and was therefore determined to put up with anything in order to obtain it.¹⁵⁹

The narrative reveals Cash's predicaments as he tried to keep out of trouble even though persecuted by Price. Cash had been approved to make straw hats under the rule of Childs. This was no longer allowed by Price and he punished Cash severely:

...I made a hat for Mrs Price [not John Price's wife] and also named the day, but he [Price] was not troubled with many questions...waving his hand exclaimed 'That will do Martin you will have four months in Irons in the gaol gang.' I was taken back to Heley the gaoler, who after stripping me of my grey clothing gave me a suit of flannel in lieu.¹⁶⁰

Cash's acquiescence to the Norfolk Island system explains why he attempted to persuade his mate, Kavanagh, to join with him instead of fighting the institution.¹⁶¹ Cash's ability to endure many vicissitudes is corroborated in the manuscript many times, but on Norfolk Island Cash decided to survive.

Interestingly, the language of Cash's narrative is amazingly devoid of the dialogue of the Industrial Revolution even though by 1871 the Industrial Revolution was having a

¹⁵⁷ Cash, *The Addenda, Trial of Cash and Kavanagh*, pp. 36-50.

¹⁵⁸ Cash, Folios 326-329.

¹⁵⁹ Cash, Folio 353.

¹⁶⁰ Cash, Folios 357 & 358.

¹⁶¹ Cash, Folio 334.

powerful impact.¹⁶² Such words as 'horsepower', 'high pressure', 'rams' and the industrial language of the day show, as Bragg explains in *The Adventure of English*, how language changes with the times.¹⁶³ Bragg states that language shapes history as much as history shapes language. Yet, the language of the Cash/Burke manuscript is seemingly frozen in a time of the previous generation of 1825 and prior. In February 1828 when Cash arrived on the *Marquis of Huntley*, the Industrial Revolution had scarcely begun in Ireland, thus partially explaining why the language of the new industrial age is not to be found in the manuscript. Yet by 1870, the year of Cash's narration, the western world was exploding with the new words of the industrial cataclysms. This aspect of the narrative/manuscript also gives credence to the veracity of Cash's narrative and thus makes it even more valuable as it becomes a mirror of a period gone but not elapsed. Cash's language of a pre-industrial time also illustrates that the narrative is more likely the Cash/Burke voice.

Cash's language contains a degree of cant talk. A simple example of Cash's use of cant talk is when he speaks of Price being a 'fly man':¹⁶⁴

...Mr Price who was on terms of equality with them [military officers] condescend to exercise the duties of a Constable but as I knew the man [Price] well by report and otherwise I was at no loss to understand his motives, which was simply to show himself off as a Fly man.¹⁶⁵

While there is not an overt amount of cant talk within the manuscript, there is a possibility that Burke, not wanting to offend sensitive Victorian mores, avoided writing cant talk. Thus the language of the narrative is likely more closely akin to the language of early nineteenth century Ireland than the earthy language of convicts. For example, from my personal history, Swedish immigrants who left Smaland in the middle to late 1800's took with them the dialect/language of Hoganness, Smaland. One-hundred-and fifty years later, the Smalening dialect still existed in Minnesota, USA, long after it had ceased in villages in Smaland. The language of the Cash narrative/manuscript is another illustration of a language possibly being frozen in a time period. Both Cash and Burke

¹⁶² Tasmania's first steam engine railroad began in February of 1871.

¹⁶³ Melvyn Bragg, *The Adventure of English* (London, 2003) pp. 239-241.

¹⁶⁴ A 'flyman' was a term of derision used by convicts to speak about convicts who were working with the authorities and giving information to harm other convicts.

¹⁶⁵ Cash, Folio 356.

were experienced convicts who knew the cant talk which would have been necessary to converse with their convict comrades. My own experience as a prison/mental institutions counsellor forced me to use cant talk in order to communicate with the inmates. However, cant talk was used sparingly within the narrative. Whether it was Burke, Cash or the gentlemen mentioned in the introduction of the first edition who kept the cant talk suppressed cannot be known. Possibly it was the editor of *The Mercury Steam Press* who acted as a gatekeeper and suppressed language of which he did not approve.

Price and his language are important elements in the narrative. Price, for Cash, became a metaphor of penal horrors. Convict Mark Jeffrey, who served time on Norfolk Island, sometimes conversed with Cash.¹⁶⁶ About Price, Jeffrey stated:

He [Price] was tyrannical, it is true...He never swerved from this course of tyranny—a hard, cruel system carried out to the bitter end.¹⁶⁷

Jeffrey records Price's use of cant language:

...I was reduced to a mere skeleton, Price came to me once more and said, 'How do you like it now, my joker? I think I have taken all the flashness out of you!' ¹⁶⁸ Belly proud still! You are strong yet my joker...must see if I cannot take it out of you.' ¹⁶⁹

Jeffrey's words support the accuracy of Cash's memory and, likewise, help to validate the worth of the narrative. However, the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript's lack of frequent cant talk remains a conundrum. We may state with a fair amount of confidence that the narrative/manuscript contained less cant talk than we would expect to hear from either Cash or Burke in everyday conversation.

Burke was confronted with two problems. Firstly, he obviously agreed to be Cash's recorder and, secondly, by the very nature of being literate, he had the problem of giving words to an illiterate person's tales. Ann Fabian, in *The Unvarnished Truth*, states:

Those who produced printed confessions of illiterates faced two problems: how best to reproduce in writing the spoken confession of an illiterate and how best to persuade an audience of its authenticity.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Mark Jeffrey, J.E. & W. Hiener, eds, *A Burglar's Life: a Classic of the Convict Days* (Sydney, 1968).

¹⁶⁷ Jeffrey, *Burglar's Life*, p. 91.

¹⁶⁸ Jeffrey, *Burglar's Life*, p. 93.

¹⁶⁹ Jeffrey, *Burglar's Life*, p. 94.

¹⁷⁰ Ann Fabian, *The Unvarnished Truth: Personal Narratives in Nineteenth-Century* (Berkeley, 2000).

While Cash's tales may not be viewed as a confession, the authenticity of which Fabian speaks is perhaps the value of Burke as a faithful biographer.

Likewise, as Fabian confronts two problems of authenticity, Mortlock in his *Experiences...*, presents himself as a man of upper class origins. Cash falsely claims the same for himself. 'Father inherited a considerable amount of property in and around my native town...' Cash says in his opening paragraph.¹⁷¹ There is no evidence from any records that Cash was any other than a common worker from humble origins. There is a possibility that Burke read Mortlock's *Experiences...* which was first published in 1864. It must be said that Burke may have obtained the idea of granting Cash an initial social status without taking anything else from the story. It is also possible that Cash sought to embellish his own origins. That would have given Burke time to read and possibly incorporate some of Mortlock's writings into the Cash manuscript as there were six years between publications of the two works: 1864-1870. However, this is unlikely as there is no evidence that the two writers interfaced. Additionally, Burke's style and phraseology differ markedly from those of Mortlock.

Both Cash and Mortlock appear to be faithful and accurate observers but total veracity must not be accepted. Fabian warns about '...the spoken confession of an illiterate.'¹⁷² Both men have extremely accurate memories for time, place and names. Like Cash, Mortlock, who was a literate man, sees himself in charge of all events even when he was in chains. There is no evidence that Mortlock's tales and Cash's *Adventures...* have any central connection. Such similar knowledge of the period deepens insights but does little in attesting to the verities of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript.

Rebellious American, Samuel Snow, was transported to Van Diemen's Land for his participation in the rebellion of the 1838 Patriot War in Upper Canada. However, unlike

¹⁷¹ Cash, Folio 1.

¹⁷² Fabian, *The Unvarnished...*, p. 60.

Cash, he was literate. Snow's report of bushranging is similar to the Cash gang methodology. Snow wrote in *The Exiles' Return*:

These men are equipped with fire-arms, and knives, and as a general thing, go in companies of two or three only, and lay in the woods, or on some neighbouring hill during the day, to ascertain the strength of the farmer's forces, and watch their operations...proceeds to secure the farmer and his house hold, by tying their hands behind them and putting them all into one room together, where an armed guard is placed over them. The house is thoroughly searched for money, watches, clothing, guns, ammunition, provisions, and other valuables...they compel one of the occupants of the house to assist in conveying it into the bush...It is seldom, or never, that they kill a man...¹⁷³

Although the above words and phrases are different in style from the Cash narrative, this passage is interesting as Snow describes an almost identical method of bushranging to that narrated by Cash. Of course, it could be stated that there were very few ways of robbing a heavily armed outpost and careful observations would be mandatory. Cash and Snow's times do not dovetail in any records of the day. In Snow's work we have a firsthand witness of bushrangers' procedures giving some validation to the Cash story.

Cash's uniqueness is not so much how he and his mates plied their trade but the extent to which the rest of the Cash bushranging tales truthfully illuminate the larger work of the manuscript and thus open a window into the period. In recording the conduct of Cash and his gang, the popular press wrote many stories about the robberies. They are a close reflection of Cash's account, thus further verifying the accuracy of the Cash manuscript.¹⁷⁴ The Cash account serves as a verification of the newspaper reports. While similar, they are quite different in construction. Another illustration was written in book form by Snow's compatriot, William Gates.¹⁷⁵ Gates, like Snow, corroborates parts of the Cash narrative when he recounts aspects of a Cash gang holdup which is very similar to the account in Cash's narrative.¹⁷⁶ While the two accounts are not identical, they are remarkably similar.¹⁷⁷ If they were identical the story could have been lifted

¹⁷³ Samuel Snow, Cassandra Pybus, eds, *The Exile's Return* (Cleveland, 1846) p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ Chapter 3, *Martin Cash and Narrative Reliability*, examines the accuracy of Cash's recollections.

¹⁷⁵ William Gates, 'Recollections of Life in Van Diemen's Land', George Mackaness, ed, *Australian Historical Monographs*, vol. XV, first published 1859 (Sydney, 1961).

¹⁷⁶ Gates, *Recollections...*, p. 20.

¹⁷⁷ Cash, Folios 254-256.

from another source. However, Gates and Cash give two different accounts concerning the young women who were brought downstairs from their bedroom. Gates records that they were '...in their undress...their mortification...'¹⁷⁸ Cash narrates:

...there were three of his [Kimberley's] daughters in the room...Jones was about to enter but I told him to remain outside until the young ladies were in readiness. I then requested them to dress as speedily as possible and by and by [*sic*] they all made their appearance in the passage...taking the young ladies through the passage I placed them in company with their father.¹⁷⁹

In *Recollections*... Gates records the Kimberley hold up:

About three months after my coming with him [Gates worked for Kimberley as a convict appointee]...we anticipated an attack... same Bush /Rangers...whilst I was at Oatlands. They were Irishmen, of the names of Cash, Jones and Caverner, [Kavanagh] quite bold and daring in their depredations...Kimberly, and against whom these men had a particular grudge...several recent robberies. My employer had been absent for two or three days on a 'spre'e'...old man was pretty chirp in his liquor...I heard a noise...I thought the Bush Rangers were there...'Sure enough, they have come.' The Rangers...and secured their hands behind them...marched them towards the house, denuded of every garment but their shirts...Jones stepped to the window and commanded him to rise, when he fired—his ball passing through and muzzles of two guns presented...command to stir not, lest death should be the result...The cook, butler, gardener, etc., were also secured, and the whole—the men from the huts...all in their shirts save Kimberly and myself...Cash demanded of the old man...He next demanded where the money was. Kimberley replied he had not a shilling in the house... payment of debts...They had not gone far they came upon the daughters, whom they secured as they had the men, and ushered them into the parlor in their undress...their mortification. ...Cash and Jones discovered...a gold watch, a little silver plate, and a few minor articles...besides a very nice new suit of clothes...filled a sack with tea, sugar, flour, ham, etc., which they brought into the parlor [*sic*], where they selected the largest man of the company to carry the 'swag'...for them to the bush...After they were gone, [Cash and Kavanagh] Jones untied my own hands...unbound them all, and immediately despatched a messenger on horseback to Oatlands with the news...¹⁸⁰

NOTE: The full quote is to be found in 'William Gates' Account of the Kimberley Robbery' (Appendix 2).

A comparison of the preceding quotations verifies the Cash story in that there was a hold up at Mr Kimberley's and Mr Kimberley had three daughters who were brought down stairs dressed by order of Cash. At this point Gates and Cash differ as Gates tells the

¹⁷⁸ Gates, *Recollections*..., p. 20.

¹⁷⁹ Cash, Folio 255.

¹⁸⁰ Gates, *Recollections*..., pp. 20-21.

story that the daughters were in a state of undress and mortification. Gates relates in the above quote, '... and secured their [farm workers] hands behind them and marched them towards the house, denuded of every garment but their shirts'. In Cash's version the women were dressed and in the care of their father. When stories are related some years after the events they inevitably vary. What can be safely extrapolated is that both Cash and Gates have a basic agreement as to the events at the Kimberley farm: the robbery did happen and the events are sufficiently similar to validate the story. Hence, the accuracy and dependability of Cash's memory is supported.

Then Kavanagh '...took charge of the whole...group...three of his daughters in the room...waiting for Jones to make his selections...'.¹⁸¹ There is more detail in the Gates' account, but that can be expected as Cash's tale was narrated in 1870 while Gates' book was published in 1846, a few years after his incarceration in Van Diemen's Land. Thus the decay of memory which undoubtedly occurred in the years between publications would be less in Gates' work although not certain as we cannot be assured that Gates had Cash's high level of recollection as is demonstrated in 'Martin Cash and Narrative Reliability' (Chapter 3). What is crucial is that the Cash narrative/manuscript and the Gates' booklet dovetail and concur. Articles quoted in the *Addenda* likewise show the connections within the two stories. For instance, Mr Kimberley's home was robbed and Mr Kimberley had daughters. Mr Kimberley was a heavy drinker and most of the household was sleeping as Cash and gang approached the homestead. The bushrangers needed more food and also took three bottles of brandy at their most recent heist of the Half Way Inn between Oatlands and Ross all of which would be used for a party when they returned to the Dromedary. Cash relates that Kavanagh fired through the lock of Mr Kimberley's door and Gates says it was Jones who did the shooting. Who fired the shot is not important but the fact that both Gates and Cash report the shooting is central to the story. Likewise both accounts note that farmhands and servants were secured in a separate room and Cash appeared to be considerate of the three young women; however, as mentioned, it was an act of violence to bring scantily clothed young women into the same parlour with near naked workers. We may also be reminded that the shirts worn by

¹⁸¹ Cash, Folio 255.

farm workers were not the same as today. They were roughly made and perhaps long enough to cover the male parts. There are other items of similarity between the Cash account and Gates' *Recollections*... which positively reflect on the veracity of the Cash/Burke narrative. There can be no doubt that the writers were recounting the same event.

Richard Davey, editor of *The Travails of Jimmy Porter*, warns of the pitfalls inherent in believing memoirs too easily. Porter, of the same time period as Cash, was a convict who also told tales, sold his articles, changed his tales and sold them again. What Davey says about Porter and autobiographies in general is certainly true of the Cash narrative. Davey relates:

How much of it [Porter's narrative] is a true and accurate account is of course almost impossible to say: certain inaccuracies and exaggerations can be confirmed, and the general tone reflects not a little self-aggrandisement, if not a narcissistic personality which never admits guilt or wrong doing. It is nevertheless an intriguing personal account of a life lived at full throttle during the first half of the 19th century in England, South America and Australia.¹⁸²

Maxwell-Stewart likewise observes that Jimmy Porter was an elusive figure with many facets to his personal makeup who perhaps wrote to save his life.¹⁸³ Later versions of Porter's work reveal altered stories. By whom they were altered is not known, but the conjecture can be made that the changes were made by unknown others who shifted the emphasis of the tale to sex and violence in order, perhaps, to increase sales. Porter was eventually pardoned and sent to Norfolk Island for life where his story was further written, changed and modified.¹⁸⁴ Similar to the Porter stories, post-1870 editions of *The Adventures*... were heavily edited and many passages omitted. Crime literature of 1750 is not noted as being particularly different from writings of the 1850's, nor from present convict narratives.¹⁸⁵ Convict literature of the past likewise has problems in validation of its truthfulness as do prison writings of today. A current example of narrative

¹⁸² Porter, *The Travails*..., p. viii.

¹⁸³ Maxwell-Stewart, *Convict Voice*... pp. 75-89.

¹⁸⁴ Porter, *Travails*..., pp. 10-12.

¹⁸⁵ Philip Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores*..., pp. 9-12.

untruthfulness is found in Chopper Read's *From the Inside*.¹⁸⁶ This work was greeted with journalistic ridicule and derision because of its many proven inaccuracies and obvious overstatements made by a person of low integrity and perceived as simply self-serving. Autobiographers like Read often stretch the truth for reasons of self-aggrandisement, vanity or simply money. The investigation of the Cash narrative, however, does not show similarities to Read's extravagant lies. Instead, the Cash manuscript is a reasonably accurate work. It has already been noted that while the recollections of the Kimberley robbery are not exact in detail, there is little doubt that Cash and Gates were recording the same incident. Read seems to have concentrated on not telling the truth in his autobiography. Read blatantly tells of his desire and ability to tell untruths when he says:

Since my first book, creating riddles and fables has been my favourite pastime. I thought it might be a bit of a novelty to add a page that contains some of my favourite quotes.¹⁸⁷

It must be re-emphasised that, while the Cash manuscript does contain a number of inaccuracies, there is no discerned piling of false tales upon more false tales. However, in the New South Wales section there are a number of intervening tales which found their way into the 1870 edition. For example, Cash claimed he did not drink alcohol yet he enjoyed many drinking parties at the Dromedary.¹⁸⁸ Cash stole brandy, had many celebrations in the bush and ultimately died of alcoholism or at the very least of alcohol induced problems.¹⁸⁹ These inaccuracies most certainly cast questions over Cash's accuracy, thus necessitating an even more careful and holistic inspection of the narrative/manuscript. Cash also lied about his upper class origins and the reason for his transportation:

He [father] maintained a style of hospitality which his circumstances by no means warranted would have affected his ruin had it not been by his marriage with my mother who was also possessed of property in her own right, who was thereby enabled to support appearances...¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Chopper Read, *From the Inside* (Melbourne, 1991).

¹⁸⁷ Read, *From the Inside*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁸ Cash, Folio 244.

¹⁸⁹ Martin Cash Death Certificate, 27 August 1877, Registrar-General, Tasmania.

¹⁹⁰ Cash, Folios 2-5.

This above exaggeration can be explained as Cash not wanting to reveal the truth about his childhood circumstances. In my counselling work with prisoners and ex-prisoners, it was not unusual for a counselee to hide the circumstances of his childhood over and over again, until, finally, he would usually reveal the true story. The fact that fabrications have been exposed in the Cash narrative indicates that the whole document needs to be closely examined in order to determine its bias and thus its usefulness.

The point must continue to be made that all autobiographies come from life and living and, hence, the observations of the writer are seen from his/her perspective. Posturing and personal myth building is certainly built into some of Cash's observations. This can be said of any autobiographer as they seek to put themselves in the best kind of light possible and, as Fabian warns us, such works should be cautiously examined.¹⁹¹ Highlighting the frank pretence of many autobiographical writers, Evans and Thorpe state in *Convict Workers...* 'Known examples of convict narratives are quite numerous yet the analytical literature on them...is limited'.¹⁹²

Another problem with an examination of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript is determining if it is an autobiography or biography. As Cash the narrator and Burke the scribe were intimately involved in telling Cash's story, I conclude that the manuscript must be viewed as both autobiography and biography.

David Dunstan, in his forty-four page introduction to Owen Suffolk's *Days of Crime...*, writes that works such as *Adventures...* (1870), Marcus Clarke's *Natural Life...* (1874), Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* (1859) and James Tucker's *Ralph Rashleigh* (c.1845) are '...more extended autobiographical narratives'.¹⁹³ Dunstan also views the above convict works to be '...more properly described as literature'.¹⁹⁴ The above autobiographical narratives achieved various levels of popularity. Much of what was

¹⁹¹ Fabian, *Unvarnished...*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁹² R. Evans & W. Thorpe, 'Convict Workers and Moreton Bay, Power, Punishment and Penal Labour', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25.98 (1992) pp. 90-111.

¹⁹³ Owen Suffolk, *Days of Crime and Years of Suffering* (Victoria, 2000) p. xiii.

¹⁹⁴ Suffolk, *Days...*, p. xiii.

written/narrated by these authors has been accepted as truthful lore. However, Dunstan gives this warning:

The assumption of truthfulness that rightly or wrongly attaches to first-person accounts has underlined their appeal. But we may not be so easily convinced. Good reasons exist for questioning the accuracy and the authenticity of these texts.¹⁹⁵

Dunstan expands on this problem of authenticity by quoting the *Australasian* in an article titled 'The Literature of Crime' and which was written in 1867:

Absolute truth, alas! cannot be always found in such compositions. The autobiographist [*sic*] must essentially be an egoist, or he would not consider the events of his life worth recording. It follows as a natural result that every self-chronicler will incline to make the hero of his own tale rather a good sort of fellow, and no exception to the rule need to be expected in the present case.¹⁹⁶

This neither gives credence to what was published by the narrator nor detracts but merely alerts the reader to the problems of authenticity. H.H. Green in *A History of Australian Literature* agrees with Dunstan when he writes of the problems of convict autobiographies: 'These convict narratives are works that reflect a desire to tell a more complete story and they are more properly described as literature'.¹⁹⁷

The only historian who claims to have seen the original Cash manuscript is Hiener. Hiener¹⁹⁸ notes he was able to access the manuscript after it had been in the possession of John Woodcock Graves¹⁹⁹ for many decades. The manuscript was passed on to the care of the Archives of Tasmania. During the 1960's Hiener was able to prepare, from his sighting of the original manuscript, an extensive lecture to the Hobart Historical Society. It would seem this lecture was the only historical presentation which used the Cash/Burke manuscript as a primary source. The manuscript was then handed over to Hiener's grand daughter (c.1965) who then sold the manuscript to the State Library of Tasmania for an undisclosed sum.²⁰⁰ Thus the manuscript lay for another thirty-five years and was

¹⁹⁵ Suffolk, *Days...*, p. xvi.

¹⁹⁶ P. Pickering, D. Dunstan ed, 'Owen Suffolk's Days of Crime and Years of Suffering', *Journal of Australian Studies*, No 82, (2004) p. 334.

¹⁹⁷ H. H. Green, *A History of Australian Literature, Vol. 1, 1789-1923* (Melbourne, 1961).

¹⁹⁸ W. Hiener, 'Martin Cash: The Legend and the Man', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association* (11 May 1965) pp. 65-85.

¹⁹⁹ Graves was the author of *Do ye ken John Peel?* (1868).

²⁰⁰ The State Library of Tasmanian has no records of the cost of the Cash/Burke manuscript.

eventually discovered. The manuscript resurfaced in 1989 as *Uncensored....* The Hiener study of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript focused on James Lester Burke and viewed the Cash work as a work of Tasmanian literature rather than one of Tasmanian history. Apparently, he did not view the Cash/Burke work as a primary source. Hiener, after reading the document in preparation for the lectures, commented on the historical value of the work by writing:

While substantially the same, the manuscript lacks the polish and finesse of the first edition. For instance, the manuscript reads—the affair was given up as hopeless [giving Cash an education in Ireland] while the first edition reads, ...the notion of having me educated was ultimately abandoned Or again, in the manuscript if he alluded to the accident, I seen it occur and the other fellow also, while the first edition reads, I was an eye witness to the occurrence myself.²⁰¹

Hiener appeared to be more concerned with literary style than historical relevance. The fact is, Hiener failed to see the manuscript as a primary source of the 1840s. There is no evidence from Hiener's lecture that he examined any post-1870 edition of the Cash book. If he had read any of the other twelve editions he would have mentioned the disparity between the manuscript, the 1870 edition and the post-1870 editions. He compounded these oversights when he wrote:

The historical accuracy of the biography [he apparently did not view the narrative as an autobiography] is remarkable. The few deviations from the truth appear to be intentional misrepresentations, engineered for the protection of individuals. ...the detailed descriptions of their bushranging career appear to be fairly accurate, although they are not always in the same order as published in the newspapers.²⁰²

An interesting and perhaps revealing statement is found in *The Mercury's* editors' introduction to the 1961 (seventh) edition:

Since this narrative was first published in 1870-90 years ago-not a single fact narrated by Martin Cash has been disproved; sufficient evidence of his truthfulness.²⁰³

Of course, the hype of a commercial firm like *The Mercury* in spruiking its own product is understood. The editor(s) of the *Steam Press* apparently failed to see the discrepancy between statements as Cash's claim to be a non-drinker and his descriptions of stealing

²⁰¹ W. Hiener, *Martin Cash...*, p. 65.

²⁰² W. Hiener, *Martin Cash...*, p. 66.

²⁰³ W. Hiener, *Martin Cash...*, Preface.

brandy and rum and enjoying alcohol sprees with his mates and the B___ns at the Dromedary. However, the editor(s) certainly had access to the Cash records. Perhaps not knowing about the original manuscript there was no reason for the editor(s) to believe that the Cash myth was not truthful. It is my opinion concerning the above quote: firstly, the editor sought to make more sales and such a statement might help; secondly, by 1961 the tales about Cash had been retold many times and had become the truth in the popular mind.

It is interesting that Hiener did not seek to examine the Cash records more carefully when he had access to the original manuscript. However, Hiener gives reasons why he did not pursue a study of the manuscript:

This implies that attempts have been made to disprove its authenticity; however a serious study of the book and of James Lester Burke has yet to be made. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the authenticity of the main characters appearing in the book, and to give some details of the life of James Lester Burke.²⁰⁴

And thus, the only serious attempt to examine the Cash narrative/manuscript was aborted almost before it began.

From the time of their bushranging escapades, the Cash, Kavanagh and Jones adventure became a popular and sometimes inaccurate fable. This was perpetuated by writers of the Cash story. These authors, and especially the popular writers, followed the trails of what they perceived to be accurate history. These they popularized and expanded through each successive generation without further verification. However, the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript brings insights into the early to middle nineteenth century of the Australian colonial era.

²⁰⁴ W. Hiener, *Martin Cash...*, p. 66.

CHAPTER 3
MARTIN CASH
AND
NARRATIVE RELIABILITY

When the Cash/Burke document was first published in 1870, the resulting book was a large work concerning the narrated bushranging experiences of Cash, Irish convict who was born in 1810 and transported to Sydney in 1828 from Cork, Ireland. Cash, a native of County Wexford and the village of Enniscorthy, grew up with no formal education and was untutored as were most of the poor Irish of Wexford. He moved quickly into petty crime and was sent to Australia for seven years' transportation for house breaking and theft although he reported in his narrative that the reason for his transportation was the shooting of the suspected lover of his girlfriend.²⁰⁵ He spent the next twenty-seven years serving penal time in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island. He escaped from road gangs, Richmond gaol in Van Diemen's Land, Port Arthur twice and eluded the police and military in many tight situations. These penal institutions, from hard-core lockups to loosely controlled road gangs to the dreaded caterpillar at Port Arthur, were part of his experiences. Central to his story are Lawrence Kavanagh, fellow Irish convict, and George Jones, an English convict, both of whom he met at Port Arthur shortly before their escape on Boxing Day (26 December) of 1842. Cash learned from intimate experience the ways and means of a life of incarceration and how to negotiate, manoeuvre, survive and sometimes prosper within the labyrinthine paths of prison rules. Cash, the outlaw and escapee, was ultimately convicted in Van Diemen's Land of murdering a policeman and sentenced to death and vivisection in Hobart in 1843.²⁰⁶ This verdict was commuted to life imprisonment to be served at Norfolk Island. Cash was finally released in 1855 upon the abandonment of the Norfolk Island prison complex and, with his ex-convict wife, moved to Van Diemen's Land which was followed by a hiatus of five years in New Zealand. Fifteen years later he was persuaded to narrate his story.

²⁰⁵ Cash, Folios 4-6.

²⁰⁶ *Addenda*, p. 47.

2604 *Cash Martin*
Francis Peeling
Launceston L. 24 March 1840. 4 M
July 1st 1840 under L. 5. Excty. sentence of brandy & 12 months hard labour. 3rd Nov. 41 that per-
Elt 2 years 10 July 1840 2nd offence Approved: 10 July 1840
Sept. 2. 1840 3rd offence 10 July 1840
Ex. 2 yrs. 2 years recommended to be removed to B. & 12 months
disposed to have committed numerous
Y Ch not to be brought up until he has been the
vide Ex. 3rd June 1840
6 Sept. Approved vide Ex. 24/12/42. To be
1843
To be Hanged Col. Secretary dated 6th December 1844
Ch dissected

²⁰⁷ Cash, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~austashs/convicts/tas_con.htm, accessed 13 December 2010.

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do keep for Piracy, Stealing & other articles before
the Court.

Wants a probt for my year, on pub^l court such to be kept Vice R.
Piracy from 10th April 1870 July 1st 1870 Grand Jury
Ct. 2 years / Alt 3 Wks. Time Date Larceny under 2
in Chain / Alt 6 Mths Offense, approved side by J. Tinsley
- A gang 3 months prison wks to 4. Pledge for payment of
M. Squire £ 1000 Ch. Dand / Miramondro. M. Squire sold (all 1870)
and ascending existing sentence of Transportation etc.
d. involvement for a long time having been so long at large,
robberies to Mand W. Squire. You sent report at home and
to Squire on probation and then only on special application
on December 1870 Wounding 18 months hard labour in chain / 1870
sent to Norfolk Island for 10 Years Vice Name of

Jk Newport

²⁰⁸ Cash, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~austashs/convicts/tas_con.htm, accessed 13 December 2010.

To verify the usefulness of the Cash/Burke document to Australian history, it is necessary to prove the reliability of Cash's memory, his dependable recall of people, places and events and, thereby, his rightful place as a narrator/co-author with possible fresh insights into the penal system in Australia from 1828 to 1855. Further, it must be ascertained that the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript is not merely composed of fantasies and dreams concocted by two errant failures, Cash and Burke, who may have been bent on self-aggrandisement and/or revenge. However, both motives are important elements to consider. The degree of exaggeration by Cash must also be ascertained. It must be asked if Cash told outright lies, added additional materials or seemingly extraneous stories and skipped over cogent facts. A further investigation of Cash with emphasis upon his memory and important data concerning him, including his Convict Record, may be found in 'Cash's Life and Death' and 'Document Verifying Cash's Illiteracy' (Appendices 4 & 5). Especially noteworthy is a listing of 410 people, places and events Cash recalls.²⁰⁹

The manuscript version of the Cash story quickly took hold of the public imagination and was propelled forward with the publication of the second edition in 1880. This version, the purpose of which was to tell a criminal's story of adventure, established in the popular mind the firm view of Cash as a type of romantic rogue much in the period genre of Captain Thunderbolt of New South Wales. Thus, the Cash/Burke abbreviated autobiography/biography continued in the twelve publications post-1870. As William Moyers observes with reference to Joseph Campbell's *The Power of Myth*, strong myths never truly expire; in fact, they frequently widen into supporting myths which, while folkloric 'truth' is often more powerful than 'truth' itself in its persistence, may have a basis of reality but they are not absolutely truthful.²¹⁰ Such myths may never die. The one hundred and seventy year-old Cash myth is a case in point.

An example of reality-turned-myth is the case of escaped convict, Alexander Pearce, who twice turned cannibal in order to survive the forbidding Tasmanian wilderness. This real story was immediately exaggerated to mythical proportions by the media of the day and

²⁰⁹ See Appendix 6: *Cash Recall of Names, Places, Events*.

²¹⁰ William Moyers, *Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth* (New York, 1988).

became part of the lore of campfire and prison conversations. Pearce was alleged to have been a pie maker in Hobart Town prior to his time on Sarah Island.²¹¹ Alexander Pearce is still known as ‘Pearce the Pieman’. Sprod examines the mythologies which surround Pearce and states that ‘Pearce the pie man who lived somewhere in Hobart and killed people and put them into his pies’.²¹² This fanciful myth of Pearce’s cannibalistic ways appeared in the *Hobart Town Courier* thirty-two years after his desperate bid to survive and the story is still told as fact.²¹³ As Maxwell-Stewart observes:

Others sought to inject Pearce’s story with darker tones. As the ‘Gazette’ had put it, the whole case had recalled the vampire legends of modern Greece...by the publication of Polidori’s ‘The Vampyre’...New Monthly Magazine, 1819.²¹⁴

Like the tales of Pearce the Pieman, a myth may be true, false or somewhat true and false. While the myth of Cash holds elements of truth, the most revealing example of his dependability is contained in Cash’s recall of people, places and events in the narrative.

An important question to be asked is to what extent Cash’s memory may have deteriorated from the time of his arrival in Sydney in 1828 and the completion of the manuscript in 1870. This is a time span of forty-two years, most of which was spent under harsh conditions, especially in Van Diemen’s Land and Norfolk Island, and it would be no surprise if Cash’s subconscious found a way to escape unpleasant memories by simply forgetting them. The fifteen years between Cash’s release from Norfolk Island and the completion of the manuscript was ample time for the deterioration of memory to occur, yet Cash’s powers of recall remained for the most part intact.

In his work *McQuail's Reader in Mass Communications*, Denis McQuail²¹⁵ emphasises the value of buttressing communications in maintaining memory and there can be little doubt that the human interactions provided at the place(s) of narration and Cash’s association with former convicts, some of whom had possibly been his fellow inmates or

²¹¹ Presumably this ‘unwholesome’ meat was human flesh.

²¹² Dan Sprod, *Alexander Pearce of Macquarie Harbour: Convict, Bushranger, Cannibal* (Hobart, 1977) pp.7 & 33.

²¹³ While on a trip to the Pieman River (c.1980), the author of this work overheard an overseas tourist’s conviction that Pearce made pies out of his victims’ buttocks.

²¹⁴ Maxwell-Stewart, *Closing of Hell’s...*, p. 62.

²¹⁵ Denis McQuail, *McQuail's Reader in Mass Communications* (New York, 2002) pp. 28-32.

people he knew who lived in Hobart, provided ample stimulation. Douglas Bors and Colin MacLeod²¹⁶ write that exceptional individuals²¹⁷ exist and the reason for the exceptional memories of these unusual people remains a mystery.²¹⁸ It is my contention that Cash was a person with an above average memory, as is verified in cross referencing details of his recall with historical records.²¹⁹

Cash was both protagonist and narrator of his story with Burke as his co-author and scribe. This has been stated before, however, this necessitates further considerations as both biographies and autobiographies can often be unreliable and sometimes outright false. A case in point is the recent Norma Khouri's *Honor Lost: Love and Death in Modern Day Jordan*.²²⁰ Khouri's work may be seen as autobiographical fiction which is an untrue story masked as reality and marketed as a true story. David Leser, in his article *But I lied for a Reason: The Inside Story of Disgraced Norma Khouri*, exposed Khouri's misrepresentations.²²¹

Feted and demonised, Norma Khouri, author of the best-selling book, *Forbidden love*, was revealed as a literary hoax...Everyone wants to read you, hear you, help you...Only trouble is you're a con artist and a fraud...You told so many bare faced lies, that it's all you can do to keep the floor show from collapsing...One false move and you're gone.²²²

A further example of recent autobiographical unreliability is Misha Defonesca's story about being raised by wolves in Europe whilst in search of her mother who was caught up in the Jewish Holocaust.²²³ Why this work ever became accepted as a historically valuable tale is virtually beyond understanding. Bruno Waterfield, an investigative journalist in Brussels, Belgium, Defonesca's home city, states:

²¹⁶ D. Bors & C. McLeod, *Individual Differences in Memory* (New York, 2000) pp. 420-30.

²¹⁷ Bors & McLeod, *Individual...*, pp. 411-441.

²¹⁸ J. Luft and H. Ingham give insight into active listening skill, <http://www.google.com.au/search?sourceid=navclient&q=t&ie=UTF-8&rls=GGLJ,GGLJ:2006-28,GGLJ:en&q=Johari+window>, accessed June 2006.

²¹⁹ See Appendix 6: *Cash Recall of Names, Places, Events*.

²²⁰ Norma Khouri, *Honor Lost: Love and Death in Modern Day Jordan* (New York, 2003).

²²¹ David Leser, 'But I Lied for a Reason', *World Women's Magazine* (New York, 2007) pp.5-8.

²²² Leser, *World...*, p. 5.

²²³ Misha Defonesca, *A Memoire of the Holocaust Years* (New York, 2005).

The story of Misha Defonesca and her invented story of living with wolves after losing her parents to Auschwitz...what do such cases mean for the historical record?...The historical legwork (to debunk and prove inaccurate) was carried out by... American genealogist Sharon Sergeant...²²⁴

Sergeant is an Adjunct Professor at Boston University, Systems Engineering. She is the genealogist who uncovered the twenty-year multinational fraud by Defonesca in her two works, *A Memoire of the Holocaust Years* and *Surviving with Wolves*.²²⁵

Ascertaining the reliability of the Cash/Burke biography/autobiography involves determining the degree of invention or simple overstatement and assessing the manuscript's reliance on hyperbole. The previous illustrations bear out some of the problems in relying on people's recollection and, especially in Cash's narrative, the fact that the narration took place fifteen years after he was released from prison. It must also be remembered that many viewed the Cash story as a series of braggadocio larks and that Cash was little more than a dashing bushranger who could be dangerous. This began to emerge upon the first newspaper articles in the Hobart press in 1843. These tales took hold of the public mind and were perpetuated by modern writers such as C. Smith.

Perhaps no one has underlined the issue of reliability and unreliability in autobiographies better than social philosopher, Mary Warnock,²²⁶ who gave the opinion in her work *Memory* that autobiographies are similar to a diary as diaries can become self deceitful and inaccurate. This carries a risk in that the narrator fails to stand back and be objective about the incident(s) she/he is relating. It is not easy to look back and remember events correctly as well as remembering the time sequence as it originally occurred. The autobiographer can fall into the trap of creating his/her own past and must consistently choose directions. Do autobiographers choose irony or what other form of communication? Warnock asks:

He must choose...what tone he is to adopt in talking about himself. Is he to be dispassionate, forgiving, or ironic...? No one can ridicule a writer who may, after

²²⁴ Bruno Waterfield, 'Misha Defonesca Threw Truth to the Wolves', *Brussels' Daily Telegraph* (Brussels, March 2, 2008) p. 1.

²²⁵ Defonesca, <http://www.linkedin.com/pub/sharon-sergeant/3/8b6/707>, accessed 10 October 2010.

²²⁶ Mary Warnock, *Memory* (London 1987).

all, be ridiculing himself. But this, too, may be a kind of deception. There are difficulties, then in autobiography. And yet it is in this genre that we may, above all, see the continuity that constitutes a human person.²²⁷

Warnock ends her examination of the autobiographer with further reflection by stating that awareness of identity is not necessarily incompatible with truth:

Everything that we [auto biographers] have experienced by eye or ear is fitting. It hangs together to be an individual and a perfection in knowing the truth of the story, we also know that the central character in the plot was ourselves, we are possessed of the notion of continuity through time.²²⁸

Warnock's words certainly apply to the Cash narrative. Even when he exaggerates or appears to brag he is true to his perception of 'self'; however, the accuracy of historical detail requires a forensic investigation of corroborating sources, although the problems of perception in distorting factual truth must be kept in mind.

That self-deceit is often a subterranean element in autobiographies is well stated by Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) when he wrote 'nothing is so difficult as not deceiving oneself'.²²⁹ The validity of this statement is difficult to refute and historians still argue the reliability of Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LLD*.²³⁰ Although Boswell's work is biography not autobiography, the question of self deceit remains and the reliability of Boswell's convoluted description of a writer's problem in presenting a story is open to question: 'The whole [presented] exhibited a view of [adjusted] literature and literary men in Great Britain for nearly half a century during which he flourished'.

When applied to an autobiography's presentation of the writer's self, objectivity is almost impossible. This has a double jeopardy in that Cash's narration is presented by his scribe and co-author, Burke. Unintended deceit and, occasionally outright deceit, is certainly present in Cash's story which possibly explains some of the discrepancies between the historical record and the reason Cash gives for his initial arrest, conviction and transportation from Ireland. The record shows he was not an attempted murderer but a

²²⁷ Warnock, *Memory*, pp. 124-125.

²²⁸ Warnock, *Memory*, p. 125.

²²⁹ Wittgenstein, <http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/show/66669>, accessed January, 2010.

²³⁰ James Boswell, Esq., *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LLD* (London 1859) frontispiece.

housebreaker. In the light of self-deceit, Cash's self-pride perhaps accounts for the following mistruth:

Jessop [who Cash falsely claimed he had shot] was under the care of the doctor who entertained but a very... unfavourable [view] of his recovery...however I was brought before a bench of magistrate [*sic*], and I was full committed to take my trial at the ensuing assizes...²³¹

The hold-up of the stagecoach on Spring Hill when Cash returns stolen items is reported in newspaper accounts and lives on in popular belief:

I presented my piece at the coachman and ordered him to pull up...Mrs Cox on being handed out presented me with her purse, which I instantly returned as I was quite aware of her identity, and understanding her to be a widow, I respectfully [*sic*] declined taking anything from her...²³²

The question arises as to whether Cash's presentation of himself as a kind and gracious person was, in fact, self deceit.

The despatches of the day report that Cash stole many items from the other passengers. Cash viewed it as his job to rob whoever he decided and to return some of the stolen items when it suited him. Cash recalls the following incident:

...Miss Holton...evinced a decided inclination to faint but at my earnest solicitation she deferred doing so...Jones politely divested her of any surplus cash...and having collected all the watches and other valuables...they were at liberty to proceed on their journey.²³³

A further example of Cash's view of self is his description of his superior accuracy in shooting a rifle:

The best part of the next day was spent at ball [shooting] practice...one evening while sitting in our camp, I observed a crow...the distance of about a hundred yards ...and laying hold of my piece I took aim with the barrel loaded with a single bullet, and fired, after flying about a dozen yard she fell...²³⁴

We have only Cash's words for the accuracy of his shooting the crow when he states: 'Jones picked her up [the crow] he found the ball passed clean through her, on which he

²³¹ Cash, Folio 12.

²³² Cash, Folios 271 & 272.

²³³ Cash, Folio 272.

²³⁴ Cash, Folio 233.

promised me five gallons of brandy the first time we visited Dromedary Park ...'.²³⁵ This, of course, does not prove marksmanship. Hitting a crow at one hundred yards with a smooth-bore rifle is remarkable beyond belief. And not only that, the crow could not have flown away for even one flutter. Hunters often brag about 'the great shot'. In this instance, however, Cash's self portrayal shows him to be fully human and not necessarily an inaccurate reporter of events. The second part of the quote shows that he was to get five gallons of brandy which also belies his often stated disinterest in alcohol.

Cash's claim that he did not drink is contradicted a number of times. Charles Harbottle's memoirs contradict Cash's claim to be a non drinker, '...one day [c.1860] some people came in to say there was a man drunk and asleep in the lane beside the shop. It was Cash ...'.²³⁶ Because Harbottle did not see Cash, this evidence is hearsay; however, it puts into question Cash's claim of being a non-drinker.

Lindsay and Kelley observe:

...imagination may be misidentified as memories, particularly if the person is oriented toward the past... A vivid image that pops to mind during an attempt to remember some past event, may, therefore, give rise to an illusionary feeling of remembering.²³⁷

Given Cash's age, this statement poses the question of whether Cash unconsciously mistook imagination for memory, which, of course, may be considered a type of self deceit and which throws Cash's believability into question at times. However, once again, matching the record with Cash's remembrances reveals a high degree of congruence. Lindsay's and Kelley's warning has little bearing on Cash's reliability as is verified by the historical record.

Before satisfaction concerning Cash's memory can be attained, his illiteracy must be considered and the reliability of an illiterate's memory and reasoning taken into

²³⁵ Cash, Folio 234. Other folios in which Cash refers to drinking alcohol are: 254, 295, 189, 190, 200 & 201.

²³⁶ Charles Harbottle, J.P., 'Personal Diary', *Glamorgan Historical Society*, 'Person Sheet', www.laidman.org/reunion/ps06496.html, accessed February, 2010.

²³⁷ D. S. Lindsay & C. M. Kelley eds, 'Creating illusions of familiarity in a cued recall...' *Journal of Memory and Language*, Vol. 35 (2005) pp. 197-211.

account.²³⁸ Government records verify the fact that Cash was indeed illiterate, but this should not carry with it the automatic assumption that he is therefore unreliable. Add to this Cash's own admission that others wrote his letters for him and there can be small doubt that Cash could neither read nor write.

For further verification, a complaint to the Campbell Town magistrate in 1839 reads:

The assault was committed on Thursday the tenth of October instant.

Sworn before me this

14th day of October 1839 the mark of

(here Cash's X Mark)

Martin Cash²³⁹

David Vincent's²⁴⁰ work, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, demonstrates how illiterates and literates in England of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries mixed with ease and that access to the printed word was available in venues such as public houses where the free flow of ideas circulated amongst both literates and illiterates.

To ascertain the reason for Cash's illiteracy in order to disprove the assumption that lack of intelligence is an automatic adjunct to unreliability, the reason for his illiteracy must be examined. Cash's origins immediately projected him into a rejection of schooling. As recorded by Cash in an early part of the manuscript, the Cash family lived a lifestyle similar to that of Irish Travellers with a love of horses, racing and gambling and who certainly would not have seen much value in schooling.²⁴¹ The following somewhat gleeful illustration points to Cash's truancy and unruliness:

No earthly powers could get me to attend school regularly and whenever I did attend the master was verry [*sic*] verry glad to get rid of me, being the leader in everything which had a mischievous tendency, and after being expelled by three different fathers [priests] my father...let the education of myself and a younger brother solely to the care of my mother...soon placed beyond the bound of parental authority, doing just as I pleased and spending the greater part of my time in visiting

²³⁸ Cash's illiteracy is verified in his convict records and is recorded in 'Document Verifying Cash's Illiteracy' (Appendix 5).

²³⁹ Magistrate, Campbell Town, VDL: 'The Information and Complaint of Martin Cash on oath saith...'

²⁴⁰ David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture England, 1750–1914* (Cambridge 1989) pp. xii -362.

²⁴¹ To this day in County Wexford, Ireland, the Cash name is associated with the Irish Travellers who were a semi-nomadic group leading a gypsy-like lifestyle. In interviews in County Wexford, members of the Cash family repeatedly stated that the Cash family members were still known as 'Travellers'.

paces and other places of amusement. In short, I was quite my own master and acted accordingly.²⁴²

In all probability, Cash's schooling took place in the illegal hedge schools of the period. *A Commission of Inquiry* (established by the British Government in 1826) reported that 'of the 150,000 pupils enrolled in all schools in Ireland, only 403 were in hedge schools'.²⁴³ Allowing only Protestant schools to operate in a fiercely Catholic world did not make schooling illegal in Ireland, but it certainly did ensure that most Irish children would be poorly educated. The edict of Catholic schools was established prior to the Wexford Rebellion of 1798 and was revoked approximately two years after the uprising. This outlawing of Catholic schools led to the surreptitious hedge schools which were, in effect, made illegal by the edict. This social inequity was countered by Irish Catholic priests and nuns who surreptitiously taught Irish children in hedgerows or wherever else they could hide their defiance of British control. By circumstances, lessons were irregular and usually held at a moment's notice, with class attendance relying on word-of-mouth telegraphing. Father John Walsh explains:

It was not that there were no schools in Ireland open to Roman Catholic children that led to the Hedge Schools. The English government sponsored schools but the majority of the Catholic population refused to use them. The government schools were clearly intended to proselytize and to Anglicize Ireland. As late as 1825 [Cash was fifteen years old], the Protestant hierarchy petitioned the King, saying...the ways to convert and civilise the Deluded People [the Irish]... have always been thought to be that a sufficient number of English Protestant Schools be erected, wherein the Children of Irish Natives should be instructed in the English Tongue and in the Fundamental Principles of the True [Anglican] Religion.²⁴⁴

There was little pressure to attend unlawful hedge schools, so it is no surprise that a rebellious boy such as Cash could have reached adulthood as an illiterate.

Literary expert, Dr R. A. Mashelkar of India, gives a good illustration of an illiterate person becoming important to society when he tells the story of an artisan solving the

²⁴² Cash, Folio 2.

²⁴³ Ireland, http://www.irish-society.org/Hedgemaster%20Archives/hedge_schools.htm, John Walsh, Irish Cultural Society, accessed March, 2008.

²⁴⁴ Ireland, http://www.irish-society.org/Hedgemaster%20Archives/hedge_schools.htm, John Walsh, Irish Cultural Society, accessed March, 2008.

problem of water distribution by the invention of a simple pulley to draw water from a well.²⁴⁵ Hume's insights on the origin of ideas support Dr Mashelkar's illustration when he declares that all ideas, no matter from whence they come, are reducible to replications.²⁴⁶ Thus a near-perfect memory may have little to do with literacy or education; in fact, literacy may obstruct knowledge through a lesser reliance on memory. One could say that Cash as a 'gifted illiterate' does not tally with his convict record. The purpose of convict records was not likely to pay attention to behaviour patterns of convicts.

In his PhD thesis *Successful, Illiterate Men*, Roger Clark presents commonly held, but incorrect, ideas that illiterate men are inferior and have lower abilities, higher crime rates and are more likely to raise illiterate children and have dysfunctional families trapped in low socio-economic classes.²⁴⁷ Clark makes the following observations concerning false but popular assumptions relating to illiterate men:

It is erroneous to describe any of the people [illiterate men] with like accomplishments [professionals] as impoverished or deficient...In many ways, these men have accomplished exactly what literate people have managed to do, but without reading or writing.²⁴⁸

Further, Clark states:

It is commonly thought that without literacy, a person will find it is almost impossible to do anything but the meanest and the most unskilled of jobs...This study's findings do not support this view...These men [illiterates] can order supplies, operate machines, supervise workers, make schedules, deliver building materials, dispatch [*sic*] trucks and read blueprints.²⁴⁹

Cash certainly belonged to this group of illiterate men who were capable of functioning at high levels.

²⁴⁵ Mashelkar, http://www.hks.harvard.edu/sustsci/ists/TWAS_0202/mashelkar_undatedpdf, accessed 2 April 2010.

²⁴⁶ *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* William E. Morris ed, *David Hume*, Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2001.

²⁴⁷ Roger Clark, *Successful, Illiterate Men*, unpublished PhD thesis, The University of British Columbia, Canada, (November, 1992).

²⁴⁸ Clark, *Successful...*, p. 103.

²⁴⁹ Clark, *Successful...*, p. 101.

Roberta Blackwood-Beattie²⁵⁰ expresses the view that gifted illiterates are often unaware of their unusual recall of minutia. In a recent interview, Blackwood-Beattie applied the recall of minutia to Cash, stating that Cash ‘...appears to need what many illiterate people have demonstrated in my practice: control of seemingly endless data.’²⁵¹

The range and number of names, places, settings, dates and events recalled by Cash are impressive when compared with similar works of the period. For instance, Jeffrey's *A Burglar's Life* and Mortlock's *Transported for Twenty-one Years* rely to some extent on recollections, but their reliance on recall does not match Cash's. This indicates the superiority of Cash's memory, but, as a warning on reliance of memory as indisputably correct, Lindsay and Kelley state:

...easily generated products of imagination may be misidentified as memories, particularly if the person is oriented toward the past...a vivid image that pops to mind during an attempt to remember some past event may, therefore, give rise to an illusory feeling of remembering.²⁵²

This raises the question as to how much of Cash's narrative is spurious; however, by matching Cash's recollection against other contemporary sources, substantiation is found.

Triangulation is an accepted method of research which, as stated by O'Donoghue and Punch, is ‘...a method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data’.²⁵³ Also, it may be said that, as a qualitative method of research, triangulation seeks to increase the soundness and reliability of the results achieved.²⁵⁴ Blackwood-Beattie reiterates the above in her position that the triangulation method is useful in separating the reliability of Cash's account from the popularized myths by supporting the original position with a second and, where possible, a third source. This method is used in the following examination of Cash's accuracy. As an example of triangulation, by comparing Cash's description of Price's use of the iron bed-

²⁵⁰ Blackwood-Beattie is the retired Literacy and Language lecturer from TAFE, Launceston, Tasmania.

²⁵¹ Blackwood-Beattie, interviewed 2 April, 2008.

²⁵² D. S. Lindsay & C. M. Kelley, *Journal of Memory and Language* (Cambridge, 1996) p. 197.

²⁵³ T. O'Donoghue, K. Punch & B. Routledge, eds, 'Doing and Reflecting', *Qualitative Educational Research in Action* (UK, 2003) p.78.

²⁵⁴ E. J. Webb, D. T. Campbell, R. D. Schwartz & L. Sechrest, *Unobtrusive Measure: Nonreactive Measures in the Social Sciences* (Chicago, n.d.) quoted by A. Bryman, 'Triangulation as a research method...' (UK 1966) pp.1-3.

frame as a method of torture with two different sources, a match of three indicates reliability. This is discussed in the section 'John Price' in this chapter. Of course, some names and places such as 'Dog Morris', 'Dog Brown',²⁵⁵ 'Tonkateebee',²⁵⁶ and 'Nammi River',²⁵⁷ were difficult to cross reference as they were nicknames, possibly misspelled or of dubious origin. These were not examined.

Of a total of 410 names, places and events cited in 'Cash Recall of Names, Places and Events' (Appendix 6) eighteen examples are listed below.²⁵⁸ If all names, places and events were examined (Price was mentioned scores of times) the count would have exceeded 500. Five of the examples below are from Cash's experiences as an assignee in New South Wales, ten from his bushranging days in Van Diemen's Land and three from his tenure on Norfolk Island. It is important to note that Burke was never in New South Wales, was never a bushranger and was never on Norfolk Island. Hence, the following eighteen examples more probably came from Cash's recollections and not Burke's, although it may not be precluded that some of the Van Diemen's Land illustrations were his.

TABLE 1
EXAMPLES OF NAME AND PLACE RECALL

New South Wales:

Judge Pennefather	historical records ²⁵⁹	Folio 4
Execution of Russell and Johnson	records ²⁶⁰	Folio 17
Halls Creek	map reference ²⁶¹	Folio 24
Wybung Creek	map reference ²⁶²	Folios 52 & 55
Goulburn Track	map reference ²⁶³	Folio 81

Van Diemen's Land:

Norfolk Plains	map reference ²⁶⁴	Folio 90
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²⁵⁵ Cash, Folios 93 & 94.

²⁵⁶ Cash, Folio 143.

²⁵⁷ Cash, Folio 15.

²⁵⁸ See 'Cash Recall of Names, Places and Events' (Appendix 6).

²⁵⁹ *Waterford News* (Ireland) 9 July 1852, Abstract, p.1.

²⁶⁰ Len Payne, *The Myall Creek Massacre: The infamous Myall Creek Massacre of 1838* (Sydney, 1962) p.8.

²⁶¹ Longitude 150.926701475 Latitude 30.672046. Town existed in 1835.

²⁶² One kilometre north of Monmara Lake, NSW.

²⁶³ Map, <http://www.argylecounty.com.au/towns/yass.html>, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁶⁴ Map, http://www.nationaltrusttas.org.au/np_heritage_centre/norfolk_plains.htm, Hughs [*sic*] Map, accessed 16 November 2010.

Mrs Stieglitz	name extant ²⁶⁵	Folios 93 & 94
Magistrate Mulgrave	historical records ²⁶⁶	Folio 99
Spring Hill Watch House	name extant ²⁶⁷	Folio 105
Mr Clark of Ellenthorpe	<i>Addenda</i> ²⁶⁸	Folio 119
Mr Gellibrand, lawyer	<i>Addenda</i> ²⁶⁹	Folio 137
Constable John Evenden	<i>Addenda</i> ²⁷⁰	Folio 159
Constitution Hill	name extant	Folio 220
Big River	map reference ²⁷¹	Folio 245
Mr Kimberley	Gates ²⁷²	Folio 254
Norfolk Island:		
Commandant Childs	historical records ²⁷³	Folio 325
Rocky Whelan	historical records ²⁷⁴	Folio 307
James Weir	Cash's tombstone ²⁷⁵	Folio 388

As further examples, two place names and the names of two individuals have been selected from the following passage:

...we started in the direction of the 'Break of Day' coming to Mr Stieglitz's ...at this time 'The Cressy' belonged to a person named 'Toosey'...

Each of the above can be found in official records and/or can be matched with current place or family names. A river and municipality still bear the name 'Break of Day'. The Stieglitz family still lives in the area and tell the story of Cash working on their 'Break of Day' farm. The farm by the name of 'Cressy' still exists near the village of Cressy. A hospital in the nearby town of Longford bears the name 'Toosey', named after a business man of the nineteenth century.²⁷⁷

²⁶⁵ I taught members of the family at Scotch College, Launceston and the family still lives in Northern Tasmania.

²⁶⁶ Mulgrave, http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~barbarahollis/tilley_edward_charlotte.htm, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁶⁷ Big River, www.whereis.com/tas/lococota/big-river-rd, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁶⁸ The reader is reminded that the *Addenda* is a collection of newspaper reports, letters to editors and governmental records.

²⁶⁹ Legal, <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/UTasLawRw/2002/5.txt/cgi-bin/download.cgi/download/au/journals/UTasLawRw/2002/5.txt>, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁷⁰ Legal, www.utas.edu.au/library/.../Royal%20Society%20names.xls, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁷¹ Big River, www.whereis.com/tas/lococota/big-river-rd, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁷² Gates, www.utas.edu.au/library/...to.../C/Convicts.htm, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁷³ Childs, www.records.nsw.gov.au/state.../convict-settlement-norfolk-island, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁷⁴ Whelan, www.utas.edu.au/library/...to_tasmanian.../Bushranging.htm, accessed 16 November 2010.

²⁷⁵ James Weir, CON33/1/55 p. 14213.

²⁷⁶ Cash, Folio 94.

²⁷⁷ Toosey was a prominent business man of Norfolk Plains (now Longford).

For additional verification, five persons mentioned by Cash have been examined in the following sections: 'John Price, Commandant'; 'Mr Shone, Gentry'; 'Mr Kimberley, Gentry'; 'William Westwood (Jackey Jackey), Convict and Murderer' and 'Solomon Blay, Executioner'. By comparing Cash's account with two separate sources where possible, a high degree of confidence in the validity of Cash's recollections is attained.

Subjective feelings of forthrightness do not prove the honesty of an autobiographer's claims in any way. However, there is an indefinable feeling of authenticity which gives an impression of overall truthfulness in Cash's narrative. Cash's occasional appeals to the reader give the impression of honesty; however, it is not likely that such appeals would have been made in a place of narration such as a waterside pub suggesting they were Burke's insertions. The following quotes are examples of the opening and closing of asides:

...of course the reader will see as I had previously remarked to my companion that I had been formerly acquainted with this family [the B—n's]...On our entrance they did not appear to know me, but when introducing my mates they threw off all reserve and stated that they had long expected Some will imagine... we had a good carouse that night...²⁷⁸

But to resume to my story, Mr Burgess on his arrival dealt with all the cases on the Callender [*sic*]...they had therefore to wait the arrival of a fresh Commission...²⁷⁹

There is no way of knowing if these asides are Cash's afterthoughts or Burke's editing. My opinion is that they are from Burke as he would have been the final arbiter.

John Price, Commandant

John Barry,²⁸⁰ in his biography of Price, outlines Price's life from his birth in England into an upper class family, his marriage to a niece of Lt Governor John Franklin and his death in 1857 at the hands of enraged prisoners.²⁸¹ In his depiction of Price, Barry corroborates Cash's observations of Price's cruelty. Except for Cash the protagonist,

²⁷⁸ Cash, Folios 193-195.

²⁷⁹ Cash, Folio 347.

²⁸⁰ John Vincent Barry, *The Life and Death of John Price* (Parkville, Victoria, 1964).

²⁸¹ *The Argus*, 'The Murder at Williamstown' (Melbourne, 30 March 1857) p. 5.

Price looms malevolently above all other characters throughout the Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island sections of the narrative. Price's official roles in Van Diemen's Land and on Norfolk Island were policeman, constable, judge, magistrate and Commandant of Norfolk Island, and the paths of Cash and Price coincided on numerous occasions. Cash makes the following observation of the effects of Price's harsh discipline:

No they [Price's discipline on Norfolk Island] became if possible more hardened and depraved than before and the Colony of Vandiemens [*sic*] land have had already sad experience of the effects of John Prices [*sic*] discipline by the many brutal and atrocious murders afterwards committed by men who being subjected for years to his tantalizing and maddening system of torture, has been changed by the process into demons in human shapes...²⁸²

Jeffrey, having similar memories, recalls Price coming to him in prison:

After six weeks of this excruciating misery, when I was reduced to a mere skeleton, Price came to me once more and said, 'How do you like it now, my joker? I think I have taken all the flashness out of you!'... 'You unnatural monster!' I shouted...'Belly proud still...I must see if I cannot take it out of you.'...Then for three days I ate nothing at all, and so the seventh week passed.²⁸³

Jeffrey also relates the stories of convicts Fred Spencer and Tommy Dutton. Spencer suffered 'ninety days of cruel torture, but it nearly killed him...further punishment would result in his death...'.²⁸⁴ Dutton, because he would not ask Price for mercy, spent sixty days in irons in solitary confinement to the point of death.²⁸⁵ Recalling being on the edge of death as well, Jeffrey states that 'the commandant put me in trumpeter irons, which were not so severe as those I had worn for seven weeks ...'.²⁸⁶ In their introduction to *Burglar...* and with reference to the Archives of Tasmania, Hiener gives credence to Jeffrey's portrayal of his experiences on Norfolk Island under the harsh discipline of Price by observing that 'under the severe rule of Commandant John Price, he [Jeffrey] was sentenced to a total of 267 days' hard labour in chains and 173 days' solitary confinement ...'.²⁸⁷

²⁸² Cash, Folio 364.

²⁸³ Jeffrey, *Burglar ...*, p. 93.

²⁸⁴ Jeffrey, *Burglar...*, p. 93.

²⁸⁵ Jeffrey, *Burglar...*, p. 93.

²⁸⁶ Jeffrey, *Burglar...*, p. 93.

²⁸⁷ Jeffrey, *Burglar...*, p. ix.

Barry as biographer and Jeffrey as convict both support Cash in his portrayal of Price as an opportunist, a taunter, unrelenting and cruel who saw his mandate as persecutor of those unfortunate enough to be under his control. Although at times Price and Cash seem to have a grudging admiration for each other, it is Price who wields the power and he enjoys using it to the extent of joining a military regiment in pursuit of Cash and his two companions. Cash's recollections of Price as a man driven to excesses in his role of commandant provide him with the opportunity to reveal the psychology of, not only Price, but the entire prison system be it at the convict level or at the level of those in charge.

On Norfolk Island in particular, Cash portrays Price as a ruthless manipulator who took advantage of vulnerable men in order to serve his need to control others:

...here [in the dark cells]...was placed any man who came under Mr Price's displeasure...Price who had every facility afforded him by the local government for maintaining and enforcing discipline on the Island...the result...prisoners placed under his charge become moral orderly and industrious after passing through a refined system in particular, Norfolk Island in torture, which has never yet been full understood by the public. No they become if possible more hardened and depraved than before...Price's discipline by the many brutal and atrocious murders afterwards committed by men who had been subjected for years to his tantalizing and maddening system of torture...²⁸⁸

As Cash opines in the above passage, Price's excessive punishments did not bring the recipients to a state of compliance; instead, prisoners were hardened to a state of viciousness.

During his time as Master Muster on Norfolk Island, Frank Belstead wrote a letter concerning Cash.²⁸⁹ Although the letter was written in 1896 (twenty-six years after the 1870 publication of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript) it appears evident that Belstead's memory was clear. His hand writing is legible and his sentence structures are accurate. Belstead was assigned to Norfolk Island after Cash had been there for a number of years. His reportage of events is consistent with Cash's observations and also those of

²⁸⁸ Cash, Folio 364.

²⁸⁹ Francis Belstead, Assistant Overseer Norfolk Island, Archives of Tasmania (AOT), (5050/28 1851), Sept 1851 CSI 50/29 (1852). See 'Master Muster Frank Belstead's 1896 Letter' (Appendix 3).

others such as Jeffrey. Especially noted is how Price frequently used the words 'well, Martin' when about to pass sentence or remonstrate a prisoner. Belstead reports Price's cant talk when he wrote of Price saying, '...act on the square...I'll lay it up to you ...'. Most of all, his letter is congruent with the views of Cash, Jeffrey, Barry and Gates. It may be argued that Cash's depiction of Price gives no new insights; however, Jeffrey, Barry and Gates most certainly support Cash. Belstead states:

Price began to chaff him [Cash]. He said, 'Well, Martin, you've come here, & heard you are going to make a long stay with us. 'Yes, sir,' said Martin. 'Well,' said Price, 'I know all about you and if you'll act on the square, I'll lay up to you.' He went on, 'It's a bargain, is it?' 'Yes sir,' said Cash. 'Well,' said Price, 'remember that if you make a mistake I'll come down hard on you just as I would on anybody else.'²⁹⁰

Folios 327-335 are omitted in post-1870 editions. These folios establish the social climate under Price which brought about the Westwood revolt and the resultant murders on Norfolk Island. William Westwood's convict record provides the following information: he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for highway robbery in 1837 and, subsequently, convicted for theft and sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude in New South Wales; he arrived in Sydney on 9 July and on 6 August 1840 was assigned to Phillip King at Bungendore, New South Wales; he escaped, was captured and sentenced to fifty lashes; he escaped again and was transported to Port Arthur; upon a further attempt to escape, he was placed in solitary confinement for six months; after being placed on probation for saving two lives, Westwood stole again and was sentenced to life on Norfolk Island. Westwood's final attempt to escape led to the murders. For this, he and eleven others were executed in full view of the prison population on 13 October 1846. He was twenty-six years old.

As expressed in the following excerpt, Cash reflects on the consequences of Price's excesses with the opinion that Westwood committed murder, not because he chose to kill but because the depravities of Price's measures drove him to a reckless disregard for the consequences of his act:

²⁹⁰ Belstead's letter was discovered in an open file simply marked 'Martin Cash', AOT. The full letter (one page missing) may be found in 'Master Muster Frank Belstead's 1896 Letter' (Appendix 3).

...on the following morning, twelve unfortunate men were launched into eternity, eleven of whom were perfectly innocent of the murders being merely in company with Westwood at the time he committed them. It was currently reported that on seeing them executed, John Price remarked that he never seen the ends of Justice so well satisfied...Mr Price would not permit them to be buried in consecrated ground.²⁹¹

In the above passage, Cash applies his view that the men were driven to excess by Price's cruelty and thus gives insight into the Westwood murders. Cash's opinion that prisoners were victims of a vindictive style of discipline which drove men to desperate acts is corroborated by Jeffrey in *Burglar*...²⁹²

...a tyrannical...hard, cruel system carried out to the bitter end...I seized a spade and rushed towards him with the full...of splitting his head open...brought ...commandant. 'I will take all the flashness out of you, my joker!' I should receive fifty lashes. John Price was satisfied with the severity of the punishment inflicted Chapman [the flagellator administered the blows while Price watched] took a special pride in his work and used to strike so that each blow would make a fresh cut...'How do you like it by this time, Big Mark?' he would say.²⁹³

The fact that Cash applied his opinion to a specific event (the murders) provides detail that had disappeared from the Cash/Burke narrative post-1870. Cash's account, buttressed by Jeffrey's portrayal of the social milieu of the Norfolk Island prison system, gives a greater sense of objectivity, making Price's innovative punishments more convincing:

Mr Price flogged him so repeatedly that at last the Doctor had to interpose...but his punishment was not yet over. A large grind stone was placed in the gaol yard to which Dubbo was appointed with instructions to keep turning it constantly throughout the day...²⁹⁴

Through his analyses of copious records, Barry supports both Cash's and Jeffrey's descriptions of Price's relentlessness and suggests a mystery disease suffered by Price in 1846 as the possible cause of his merciless behaviour.²⁹⁵ Barry gives further information on Price's career following the closure of Norfolk Island and the reward Price received as a result of his native charm with people who were not his convict enemies when he was

²⁹¹ Cash, Folios 354 & 355.

²⁹² Jeffrey, *Burglar*..., pp. 90-95.

²⁹³ Jeffrey, *Burglar*..., pp. 91 & 92.

²⁹⁴ Cash, Folios 368-370.

²⁹⁵ Barry, *Life and Death*..., pp. 88-97.

given the position of Superintendent of Victorian prisons in 1854. As Superintendent of Prisons, Price was given the mandate to control the rising prison population engendered by the social problems of the Victorian gold fields of the 1850's. As in his roles as Magistrate and Commandant, this position unleashed his brutality and on 26 March, 1857, Price's brutality was returned when he was savagely attacked by convicts at Williamstown. He died two days later. Supported by the opinions of Jeffrey and Barry, Cash's description of the Westwood murders obtains more credibility.

Perhaps to give some miserable comfort to the memory of Price, Barry states:

For twelve long months...did Charles Stewart, a man of feeblest frame, toil and suffer...Why did Mr Price keep him so long as twelve months? [past his sentence] I verily believe he did not at first mean to do so. In a moment of ungovernable passion, which he so often displays, brooking no obstacles, and believing himself wholly irresponsible, as indeed, the Government have suffered him so long to be, where a prisoner is concerned, he did a most wicked and illegal act.²⁹⁶

Barry further gives his opinion that Price had a psychopathic love-hate relationship with the convicts: he identified with them, used their cant talk, sometimes addressed them in a friendly manner and, ultimately, severely punished them:

He regarded them [the convicts] as less than human, with no claim to justice in a civilized sense, but his vanity nevertheless had to adjust ways to manage...them...they should move in submissive terror of him.²⁹⁷

Price's fits of cold anger, as exemplified by his punishment of Rocky Whelan by means of the black gag and Dubbo's successive sentences to the grinding of cayenne pepper illustrate Price's attitudes toward convicts. The punishments meted to Whelan and Dubbo, both extremely recalcitrant convicts, support Barry's view of Price. Barry ponders Price's emotional status as Commandant of Norfolk Island in the following passage:

He [Price] was on the verge of a nervous breakdown [possibly resulting from the death of his two year-old daughter Emma, who died of an infection on

²⁹⁶ Barry, *Life and Death...*, p. 89.

²⁹⁷ Barry, *Life and Death...*, p. 16.

Norfolk Island ²⁹⁸] and...he begged the Lt Gov Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, not to insist that he should take the position.²⁹⁹

The difference between Barry's and Cash's observations emanates from Cash's insider view and the consequent opportunity to apply this view to his portrayal of Price. In contrast, Barry's insights were obtained from official records. The two views dovetail in that they are both writing about the harsh treatment dealt out by the same person.

Should further verification of Cash's dependability be required, this is provided by Bishop Willson, Rev Rogers and Dr Singleton,³⁰⁰ all of whom were appointed to Norfolk Island during the command of Price:

...all noted Price's over bearing manner if his authority was challenged...'old lags' appeared to receive preferential treatment. That was consistent with Price's domineering nature, for, made wise by harsh experience, they accepted his dominance. Their obsequiousness was incense to his nostrils, constant proof of the reality of his power...'In some respects [Price] was a man of good parts; he had a light, easy way with an eye-glass; he was a man of courage and quick resolve; but he was also one of those human tigers who, if they cannot obtain some uniform to cover their crimes, are apt to get hanged...or at any rate to come to a violent end...³⁰¹

Rev Roger's³⁰² letter of 1849 to the authorities provides a valuable primary source:

...his [Prices'] arrogant and insufferable exercise of...authority...Miscreants were not expelled from the police. Perfidy was not discountenanced The gaols and cells were crowded...Men who slept in garden huts and stables were ordered into barracks... the wards were already over-filled. Officers were browbeaten...'searching' [of convicts] was often conducted in the most obscene...manner...if the least resistance was offered, the man resisting might be knocked down...risk of having his limbs broken. Every man was exhorted to play the spy...treachery was charged...³⁰³

Price was known to make new rules in order to power over those under his command. It seems he was willing to take any law or order and twist it to his own application. If he

²⁹⁸ Norfolk Island Cemetery, http://gravesoftas.dyndns.org/Graves%20of%20Tasmania/norfolk_island.htm, accessed 3 January 2011.

²⁹⁹ Barry, *Life and Death...*, pp. 18-19.

³⁰⁰ Mary Kent Hughes, *Pioneer Doctor: A Biography of John Singleton* (Melbourne, 1950) pp. 158-9.

³⁰¹ George Ives, *History of Penal Method* (London, 1914) p. 167.

³⁰² Rev Rogers, <http://arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-6/gilchristarticle.php>, accessed 4 January 2011.

³⁰³ Barry, *Life and Death...*, p. 44.

required an excuse for his abuse of prisoners, the *Standing Instructions for the Regulation of the Penal Settlement on Tasman's Peninsula*, 27 January 1833 would give him ample support:

It is distinctly to be kept in view by the Commandant and the several public officers employed on Tasman's Peninsula... design of the Establishment, is the severe punishment of the vicious part of the community...from the commission of crime...and to this end, the most unceasing labour is to be exacted from the convicts, and the most harassing vigilance... to be observed, together with such a minute system of classification as may be best calculated to develop their characters, habits, and dispositions.³⁰⁴

Standing Instructions..., while not directly pertaining to Norfolk Island, certainly has a bearing on Price's treatment of convicts which he thrust upon and demanded of his underlings. Much of Cash's narrative emphasises the excessiveness of the Price regime. Cash consistently speaks of Price viewing himself as one who would do almost anything to cow and control those under his charge. Such instructions would have given Price manoeuvrability to treat prisoners as he pleased. An example is his fascination with 'the men under the table' and the sentence of death he gave to two homosexuals by placing the two men in the same dark cell as they awaited execution. Price reveals a prurient interest and, most certainly, a determination to exact from the punishment more than simply being hanged:

...yet it is a well known fact which has been authenticated by the Rev Mr Rogers that two prisoners who were in gaol and under sentence of death charged with committing this revolting offence [homosexuality] had been placed in the same cell, by order of Mr Price, and also that the crime for which they were so justly about to forfeit their lives was again committed while awaiting execution.³⁰⁵

It is significant that the above passage has been expunged from the post-1870 editions, thus indicating that the editor(s) of *The Mercury* appeared to be masking Price's serious crimes. The existence of homosexuality within the prison system on Norfolk Island buttresses the reports to be later written by Bishop Willson. However, the value is Cash's account of a specific incident and Price's apparent prurient interest, circumstances perhaps not known by Willson.

³⁰⁴ Barry, *Life and Death...*, p. 8.

³⁰⁵ Cash, Folio 374.

Mr Shone, Gentry

From a retrospective viewpoint, Cash's account of plundering the homes of the landed gentry can be seen as humorous, but it was not seen as amusing by his victims. Cash was very probably playing to his audience at the place of narration, but there can be no doubt that Cash's intentions were serious: the removal of food and grog is not necessarily a vicious act given the plight of the escapees, but there can be no doubt that the theft of guns and ammunition was with deadly intent should the need arise. Cash's following anecdote is an example of the measures he was willing to take in self defence:

...meaning I suppose to get me a flogging, but I verry soon showed him [the constable] one, picking him up [after first knocking him down] and carrying him to the top of a steep bank about twenty feet above the level of the water, I flung him headlong into the bay...I started in search of liberty.³⁰⁶

There is little doubt about Cash's desperation and welling anger, so his reaction to the prospect of a flogging was spontaneous, but, given the length of the drop, the water below and his own strength, it could very well have resulted in death. Further to Cash's willingness to take violent action if the need arose, he was prepared to shoot the black trackers, those in his pursuit, Eliza's paramour and perhaps even Eliza. Of course, despite being a dangerous escapee, Cash was also convivial, enjoyed parties at the B—n's and was most likely a good friend, but it must be remembered he was willing to kill.

Although Cash's humorous account of the hold up of the Shone residence was probably for the entertainment of his audience, there can be no doubting Cash's determination: kidnapping the Bradshaws, bailing up six workers, terrifying the Shone family and their friends, capturing five upper class arrivals, intimidating fifteen hostages, stripping victims of personal items and plundering. Cash's victims were undoubtedly in fear of their lives while the gang went about their very serious business. The casual way in which Cash finishes the story is perhaps to please his listeners with his natural wit. The newspapers, however, reported the incident with growing alarm. Thus, the Cash myth was extended in the media by viewing Cash as a renegade and dangerous, while Cash himself describes

³⁰⁶ Cash, Folio 154.

the incident in an almost mocking tone. He again shows his satirical humour in the following quote when he says they 'discussed several bottles':

We were all verry heavily laden on our return to the Fortress, where I found my companion [Eliza)]seemingly in great anxiety respecting our safety and having convinced her that her fears were unfounded Jones displayed our newly acquired property comprising of a variety of wearing apparel and other stores too numerous to mention, the former was at once turned over to my companion and we after wards sat down and discussed several bottles of excellent port wine,[sic] pleasant night in our lofty Tenement.³⁰⁷

Verifying the Shone robbery, *The Hobart Advertiser* of 24 February 1843, reports the incident in somewhat different words:

Cash, Kavanagh and Jones met Mr Bradshaw with two men with a cart near Mr Shone's at the Back River, near New Norfolk, whom they challenged and then tied them. They came to Mr Shone's house, rapped, and when asked who was there, obliged Mr Bradshaw to answer. Mr Shone, who with Mrs Shone, was at tea at the time, opened the door, when they rushed the men in before them, leaving Cash as sentinel, while Kavanagh and Jones went to the men's hut, where there were six men, and tied them. These they brought into the house, and placed at one side of the room, Mr and Mrs Shone at the other. About five minutes after Messrs McKay, Ferguson, and Shone Jun., Miss Shone, and Miss Carter came up in a spring cart, when they were surprised on being told to walk in to find the house in the possession of the bushrangers, and the family placed as described. They even ordered them to sit down with Mr and Mrs Shone, while Cash still remained inside and Kavanagh outside as guard, Jones meantime searching the house. They behaved with the utmost civility, Cash remaining with much apparent ease, and seemingly perfectly informed of every event as well in the house as in town. Cash attributed the visit to some constable having been at the house a few days before. He understood that the Governor had offered a free pardon and reward for their apprehension, but that it was useless; that though Captain Forster was in search of them they did not think the constables wished to come up with them; but if they fell in with Mr Forster, of Brighton, they would shoot him...Ms Shone was very much terrified but he [Cash] used every effort to reassure her, and on her recovery, said that, Like Mrs Panton, she was frightened at first but cheered up afterward.³⁰⁸

There is an element of admiration on the part of *The Advertiser* by reporting that the robbers 'behaved with the utmost civility' by reassuring Ms Shone and cheering up Mrs Panton. This would have added to the growing myth that the Cash gang was not dangerous if obeyed. Two more observations may be made of the manuscript version in

³⁰⁷ Cash, Folios 200 & 201.

³⁰⁸ *Addenda*, 'From Correspondent on Wednesday night', *Advertiser*, 24 February 1843, col. 6, p. 3.

comparison with the newspaper account: first, they obviously describe the same event of a robbery using the same setting and the same participants; second, the significantly different words and phrases indicate two different sources/accounts. This illustrates that Burke did not copy from *The Advertiser*.

Mr Bradshaw's letter to the *Colonial Times* slants towards the aftermath of the incident: the Shone's should not have been fined and stripped of their free convict labour for reason of Shone's inaction.³⁰⁹ Shone's letter to the *Hobart Review* is also aggrieved by the punishment, deflecting blame onto the constabulary and the police magistrate:

...three bushrangers...unlawful depredations and the inertness of the police...Mr Editor, I bid to submit a very simple arrangement: let each police magistrate be instructed to select a steady, confidential constable with three others, whom he may rely upon in time of need...³¹⁰

The *Advertiser's* report and the two letters by Bradshaw and Shone support the event. This validation is strengthened by the different angles taken by the letters in comparison with the Cash account. From this new social problem of cheap labour lost came a tide of citizen anger towards the government of the day. Mr J. W. Boyes of the Colonial Secretary's Office finally informed Shone that:

...concerning the robbery at your house by three bushrangers on 22 February last...these men...were, it appears, permitted to plunder the house without resistance being offered by those present, many of whom remained passively looking on.³¹¹

The insinuation is apparent: because the odds were fifteen captives to one guard, Shone's failure to take defensive action was, in fact, assumed as cowardice by the government. A letter to the editor of the *Colonial Times* (undated) by J.W. Boyes states that Mr Shone was insulted in disgusting language. Boyes' letter reads in part:

...taken before the police magistrate at New Norfolk relative to the robbery at your [Shone's] house by three bushrangers on the 22nd February last [1843] he [Mason] has thought proper, in addition to the hardships inflicted on Mr Shone, to censure him and all the parties present at the time of the robbery in language both insulting and disgusting, I feel it is imperative duty to come forward and mention a few facts which I am well aware His Excellency, through his underlings, is acquainted with,

³⁰⁹ Addenda, 'Letters to the Editor', *The Colonial Times*, 21 March 1843, p. 23.

³¹⁰ Addenda, *The Review*, Hobart, 21 March 1843, p. 23.

³¹¹ Addenda, p. 22.

and to the truth of which I am ready to depose: and in order that the respectable settlers and your readers generally may be fully acquainted with the sympathy and assistance they are likely to obtain from the Government in case of a similar attack, I beg to annex a copy of the extraordinary documents forwarded by His Excellency to Mr Shone ...³¹²

To his letter Boyes attached the Colonial Secretary's letter to Shone, dated 21 March 1843, which was in defence of His Excellency's action in the face of the growing alarm among the landed gentry that they would be stripped of safety as well of unpaid labour. The following opinion and judgement was directed to Shone from the Colonial Secretary's Office:

In the present instance, the Lieut-Governor [*sic*] considers that a lamentable deficiency has been...betrayed and his Excellency is therefore of opinion that he can no longer be safe or proper to entrust to you that guardianship of convicts, and his Excellency has accordingly...issued for the immediate withdrawal of your assigned servants.³¹³

These two quotes illustrate the emerging split within the farming community. The value of the Cash account is in its detail of the Shone household and its presentation of the incident from the point of view of the protagonist. This contrasts with the political manoeuvring exemplified in subsequent letters exchanged between Shone and the government. It also should be noted that Cash's account of a very serious incident was rather light-hearted. For instance, Cash describes a vignette concerning some of the farm workers and the robbers:

...an inner room where Mr and Mrs Shone were at Tea in company with another gentleman all of whom with the exception of the family we ordered to sit on the floor, and leaving Kavanagh in charge me and Jones repaired to the hut where we found six working hands [NOTE: The following twenty-five words were expunged from the post 1870 editions.] comfortably engaged in discussing a large apple pie, all of whom we brought with us, though verry sorry to disturb them when so agreeably employed.³¹⁴

Cash's description allows the reader access to the functioning of a large and wealthy household. This intimate view of the Shone household contrasts the cosiness of drinking

³¹² *Addenda*, p. 22.

³¹³ *Addenda*, pp. 22 & 23.

³¹⁴ Cash, Folio 198.

tea in the parlour with the six hands relegated to a shed. Apparently, the segregation of the workers and the gentry was customary.

Mr Kimberley, Gentry

Terror was engendered into the Kimberley family by three armed desperadoes' intention to plunder by means of threat and intimidation, yet, in typical style, the Cash account of the hold up of Mr Kimberley's residence is injected with humour. The general range of Cash and gang's intended plunder was the area of large land grants between Mt Dromedary, upland Bothwell and Oatlands. These grants were given gratis by the Crown to the gentry. As was Shone, Kimberley was a member of this class and, therefore, seen as a fair target by the Cash gang. Although related in the vein of mock heroics, the attacks upon the rich English graziers were undoubtedly terrorizing and sometimes violent. The account of the raid on the Kimberley residence is another example of Cash's taunting satirical humour against the English. Kimberley, an apparently incompetent and drunken grazier and Gates, his American convict assignee who had been arrested for assisting Canadians in Quebec in a forceful overthrow of British rule in the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1840, found themselves being raided by the Cash gang. Perhaps with false bravado and probably with his audience in mind, Cash proposes:

...to visit Mr Kimberley on the same night in order to make up the deficiencies, and on reaching the house we found the door securely closed and the inmates in bed...Kavanagh shot the lock off... Mr Kimberley, who could hear what was passing from the room...remarked that there were three of his daughters...I then requested them to dress...³¹⁵

The narrative continues to expose Kimberley as a weak man who appeared to be already inebriated when the Cash gang arrived. Cash shows scorn when he tells of the constable on guard who dropped his weapon, jumped through a window and landed on a flower bed; however, the question arises whether this incident is true or made up to please his audience. In typical mocking style Cash accounts for the guard's behaviour:

...Constable...sent to guard...had too much respect for himself to think about any person else...the police having been in bad odour for some time, owing to their acknowledged insufficiency to capture us...³¹⁶

³¹⁵ Cash, Folio 254.

³¹⁶ Cash, Folios 254-256.

Support is provided by Gates in *Recollections...* when he recalls that Kimberley was 'pretty chirp in his liquor' at the time of the robbery, having been absent for a few days on a 'spree'.³¹⁷ Despite some minor differences such as disparities in the sequence of events, the two accounts are similar. Given the time span between the event in 1843 and the year of publication (sixteen years later for Gates and twenty-seven years later for Cash) it can be expected there would be some differences in detail. That Gates gives to Kavanagh the role of shooting the lock off the door and Cash gives the part to Jones is quite inconsequential; more important is that the two publications support each other in the method of gaining entry to the house and the general tenor of the robbery. That *Recollections...* was published before *The Adventures...* is also inconsequential as Gates' book had not appeared in Australia before 1870, giving Burke no opportunity to read it.

Gates, like his American convict mate, Samuel Snow,³¹⁸ corroborates parts of the Cash narrative when he recounts a Cash gang hold-up which is strikingly similar to the account in Folios 254-256. There is little doubt that the two narrated the same hold-up of the Kimberley property. A comparison of Gates' account with Folios 254, 255 and 256 verifies the Cash narrative:

Kavanagh shot the lock off the door, and we all made our entrée...Kavanagh took charge of the whole...of the group...three of his daughters in the room...I told him to remain outside until the young ladies were in readiness to leave...waiting for Jones to make his selections...³¹⁹

Cash preferred viewing himself as being kind and caring towards the ladies whereas Gates describes the piteous cries of the females as they came downstairs. We can assume that the men with only shirts on and the women in their state of 'undress' exhibited a rather unpleasant scene. The event continues in Folios 254-256 in which Cash glosses over the ladies' state of undress. Gates' following account of the same incident gives a slightly different view of Cash and gang's behaviour:

About three months after my coming with him [Kimberley]...we anticipated an attack from those same Bush Rangers that were hunted whilst I was at Oatlands.

³¹⁷ Gates, *Recollections...*, Vol. XV, p. 20.

³¹⁸ Samuel Snow, Cassandra Pybus, ed, *The Exile's Return* (Cleveland 1846) Section III p. 2.

³¹⁹ Cash, Folios 254-256.

They were Irishmen, of the names of Cash, Jones and Caverner [*sic*], and had grown quite bold and daring in their depredations... My employer had been absent for two or three days on a *‘spree’*. The old man was pretty chirp in his liquor...It must be them... *‘Sure enough, they have come,’* ejaculated the old man...The Rangers had surprised the men at the huts, and secured their hands behind them. This done, they marched them towards the house, denuded of every garment but their shirts...Jones stepped to the window...when he fired...and muzzles of two guns presented...command to stir not, lest death should be the result. Our hands were then secured behind us. The cook, butler, gardener, etc., were also secured, and the whole—the men from the huts as well as those from the house—marched into the parlor [*sic*];...they came upon the daughters, whom they secured as they had the men, and ushered them into the parlor in their undress...Cash and Jones discovered nothing but a gold watch...besides a very nice new suit of clothes...They then proceeded to the store, where they filled a sack with tea, sugar, flour, ham, etc. After they were gone, Jones untied my own hands, and gave us the injunction to remain perfectly quiet for two hours...unbound them all, and immediately despatched a messenger on horseback to Oatlands with the news...³²⁰

The full quote of 539 words may be found in 'William Gates Account of the Kimberley Robbery' (Appendix 2).

While Gates' memoir confirms that the burglary of the Kimberley household took place, the discrepancies put into question Cash's truthfulness concerning his behaviour and demeanour. However, the differences do not negate the fact that the events took place.

Samuel Smith's letter to the editor of the *Review* of 30 June 1843, relates how Kimberley sent a body of men with Mr Pillinger in pursuit of the robbers.³²¹ The body of men caught up with the Cash gang. This is corroborated in the Cash narrative.³²²

William Westwood (Jackey Jackey), Convict and Murderer³²³

Cash's partner, Kavanagh, and fellow convict, William Westwood, were two of twelve men who, witnessed by Cash, were hanged on Norfolk Island during Price's command.³²⁴

Cash's report of this event is one of the few in the manuscript to be given more than a passing reference. Even Cash's references to Price's methods of torture are almost

³²⁰ Gates, *Recollections...*, p. 20.

³²¹ *Addenda*, pp. 30 & 31.

³²² Cash, Folios 258-260.

³²³ William Westwood, <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10489b.htm>, accessed February 2009.

³²⁴ William Westwood, CSO 20/2/64, CSO 22/19/779, ff1-5, Con 55/1, 597/3035.

laconic, surprisingly sparse in detail and sometimes dismissed with the phrase ‘to resume my story’. However, the fifteen folios dedicated to Cash’s account of Westwood’s murder of an overseer and three constables³²⁵ and the resultant multiple executions is unprecedented in the narrative and is certainly depicted in more detail than usual:

Armed with staves and bludgeons and having entered the Cook house the former killed a free overseer...with a stroke of his cudgel...there was a watchman...on passing the latter dashed out his brains against the brick works where he was sitting...exchanged his bludgeon for an axe...immediately killed one of the constables...another constable...Westwood chopped him down with the axe and afterward literally cut him in pieces.³²⁶

It may have been that Cash saw something of himself in Westwood and developed a feeling of empathy which would explain the fifteen folios devoted to the murders and ensuing twelve executions. Possibly Cash and Westwood's mutual plight muted the traditional animosity between the English and the Irish, allowing the development of Cash’s sympathy. A similar sentiment may have been felt by Burke as both he and Westwood were educated and literate.

On a number of occasions Cash seems to have a degree of tolerance towards acts of homosexuality and murder, expressing the opinion that the miscreants were driven by an inhumane system. He certainly extends this theory to Westwood:³²⁷

...hunted, faced with death, brutalized, and finally sentenced to the most dreaded of prisons under the supervision of Commandant John Price, it is little surprise that Westwood became the killer of four men.³²⁸

Westwood’s letter from the condemned cell substantiates Cash’s opinion:

In all my career, I never was cruel I always felt keenly for the miseries of my fellow-creatures, and was ever ready to do all in my power to assist them to the utmost, yet my name will be handed down to posterity branded with the most opprobrious epithet that man can bestow...this place is now worse than I can describe. Every species of petty tyranny...is put in force by the authorities. The men are half-starved, hard worked, and cruelly flogged. ...Sir, out of the bitter cup of misery I have drunk from my sixteenth year ten long years and the sweetest draught is that which takes away the misery of living death; it is the friend that deceives no

³²⁵ Cash, Folios pp. 336-355.

³²⁶ Cash, Folios 340 & 341.

³²⁷ Cash, Folios 340 & 341.

³²⁸ Cash, Folios 340 & 341.

man; all will then be quiet no tyrant will there disturb my repose, I hope, William Westwood.³²⁹

Of course, it was common for murderers to write sympathy-seeking, blame-deflecting and contrite letters from the condemned cell. Westwood's letter expresses no regret for his deed, but it does stir sympathy. His references to the 'bitter cup of misery' from which he will pass to a state where there will be 'no tyrant to disturb my quiet repose' place blame on the Norfolk Island penal settlement and Price. Westwood's convict records confirm the brutal treatment he received, while his letter from prison supports Cash's opinion that extreme punishment drove men to extreme actions.

Solomon Blay, Executioner

Cash's early impression of the convict system in Van Diemen's Land is explicit and grim, as depicted in the following extract:

...Starvation, Tyranny in all its revolting forms and Treachery existed to an unlimited degree...This system gave exercise to the inventive faculties of a great many...³³⁰

It is against this background that Cash became acquainted with convict and executioner, Solomon Blay, one of the more illusive and hated characters in the Cash/Burke narrative. Cash's first encounter with Blay took place when both were assigned to the convict station in the hamlet of Jerusalem. Cash's contempt for Blay is immediate and very clear in the following excerpt:

...after my arrival he [Blay] was summoned to Hobart Town, in order to get initiated into the mysteries of tying the noose, and where men awaited their introduction to another world.³³¹

Of course, any executioner such as Blay would have been viewed with fear and loathing by convicts who were frequently forced to observe executions. It is clear that Cash shared this view when he stated that Blay callously enjoyed his job. The following excerpt from Blay's convict record shows him to be reckless and unruly and confirms his assignment as hangman:

³²⁹ Westwood, <http://www.executedtoday.com/2010/10/13/1846-william-westwood-aka-jackey-jackey/>, accessed 21 November 2010.

³³⁰ Cash, Folio 107.

³³¹ Cash, Folio 107.

Ship: Sarah

Date: 29 March 1837

Oxford Assizes: 13 July 1836

Sentence: 20 April 1842 Life

Convicted of felony...; flogged on board Sarah for insolence bad as can be [Surgeon's report]; Recorded in his favour for his good conduct in saving the Mail when upset in the Derwent River; Making Base Coin...4 months stealing...for saving Mail...granted remission of 2 years of the regular time for Ticket-of-leave. 1839—misconduct in taking a female to the factory drunk—6 months hard labour in chains and recommended to be dismissed from Police Force.

- In chain gangs at hard labour most of time in 1839-1840.
- 10 May 1840 His Excellency approved of removal? of the chains ? ? and that he be employed as hangman at Hobart Town
- 7 Jan 1841 Executioner being drunk and disorderly 8 days solitary confinement
- Drunk and disorderly—reprimanded 7 Feb 1842

His Excellency has granted this man permission to leave the Richmond Gaol occasionally... During the day, returning to the Establishment at night 17 May 1845.³³²

Whether Blay enjoyed his task or was driven to it by a cruel system is debatable; however, Blay's teasing of convicts before he hanged them suggests a degree of enjoyment in performing the task. It is to be noted that Blay came to see Cash shortly before Cash was to be hanged at Hobart Town. Cash records the incident:

A day or two previous to that appointed for my execution and when returning from the gaol yard to my cell...I overheard one of the men telling some person to keep out of my sight but the party spoken to was not so refined or delicate in his feelings and consequently came to the door, disclosing the features of my old friend, Solomon Blay. Well Martin he exclaimed how are you getting on. I assured him I was in verry good health, and passed on to my cell being perfectly aware that he was called down from Oatlands [where he permanently resided] for my special benefit.³³³

In the above quote Cash appears to be in control of his emotions, but whether or not these are Blay's real words or whether it was Cash's intention to portray Blay in an unfavourable light is not known. It was noted earlier that Blay told Cash that one day he would give him an extra foot of rope, which meant Cash would choke to death at Blay's

³³² Blay, CON31/3. Indent Description List CON18/20; Muster Roll CS05/19/398, Appropriation List, MM33/6, CON27/7.

³³³ Cash, Folios 309 & 310.

hand, a long and difficult death. The value of the passage is its suggestion of the disdain felt by some convicts awaiting execution.

Local historian, J. S. Weeding,³³⁴ gives the village of Oatlands as the home of the colony's most unpopular public servant; however, Blay's convict records make no mention of this circumstance. The Weeding family, who have lived in the vicinity of Oatlands since the early colonial period, tell the story of Blay as a resident of Oatlands who performed executions in both Hobart and Launceston. Weeding informs that, if the assignment was to be performed in Hobart, Blay was obliged to walk a distance of fifty miles and, if it was to take place in Launceston, the walking distance was seventy miles. The popular belief that Blay was such a feared figure that the coachman would not stop to give him a ride is not officially verified; however, given his role, it is not difficult to accept the probable verity of this myth. Likewise, the belief that Blay kept nooses as mementos is understandable, but not verified. Given the above, it must be concluded that much of Weeding's information is not supported by primary sources.

An unreferenced tourist brochure in Richmond gives Blay as transported for counterfeiting at the age of twenty.³³⁵ This is verified by the convict record. Also, his convict record supports the brochure's information that Blay was detained at the Richmond gaol as executioner. Further, the brochure reports that, following his pardon, Blay returned to England where he lived in the vicinity of London but returned to Oatlands soon after. Understandably, as Blay was now a free man, his convict record makes no mention of his return to England. As in the case of the 1981 edition of *Adventures...*, the purpose of the tourist publication must be considered: the main aim was probably to amuse tourists and not to produce a scholarly treatise. However, the Cash myth is certainly enhanced with publications such as this.

Two non-referenced secondary sources do not fulfil the requirement of the triangulation method, leaving Blay's convict record as the only positive verification of Blay's circumstances as official executioner. It should also be noted that Cash's opinion is

³³⁴ J. S. Weeding, *A History of Oatlands* (Hobart, 1988).

³³⁵ Tasmanian Parks and Wild Life Service Brochure, *Richmond Gaol* (September 1980).

subjective and, therefore, is almost impossible to qualify. Beyond repeating that little positive verification of Blay has been found, the convict record must suffice. It must be emphasised that a convict record is not merely one primary source. Rather, it is a series of primary sources in the same record and therefore meets the requirements of the triangulation premise, verifying that Blay was indeed a thief, housebreaker and general renegade who was assigned as hangman, performed his task in Hobart and was a convict. A hangman would certainly have been hated and feared, a view perpetrated by a tourist guide in Oatlands. Despite the lack of firm evidence of Cash's representation and regardless of popular belief perpetuated by the tourist brochure and the tourist guide, Cash's portrayal of Blay is reflective of convicts' attitudes.

This chapter has shown that events in Cash's narrative did take place and that major individuals did exist. For the most part, the sequence of events in the manuscript parallels the events Cash actually experienced.³³⁶ Aside from Cash's exaggerations, his stories are buttressed by media reports. By matching the narrative/manuscript against reported events and finding the match to be comparable, it does not appear that Cash's drinking detracted significantly from either the manuscript's accuracy or from its value to the historical record. Likewise, whether or not Price was a terrible fiend, the record shows that Price was certainly harsh and unyielding towards convicts. Especially in the case of Price, Kimberley and Shone, Cash's recollections are strongly buttressed and, in the case of Westwood, his opinion is convincing. His occasional self deceit is understandable given that he was most likely telling his story to an audience which was probably an ongoing revelry. Keeping in mind that the foregoing investigations indicate Cash's sufficient dependability as a witness of people and events, and recognizing the humanness of his elaborations and exaggerations, it is reasonable to accept that his narrative buttresses already known information and adds interesting nuances to the historical record.

³³⁶ 'Cash Recall of Names, Places and Events' (Appendix 6).

CHAPTER 4

JAMES LESTER BURKE SCRIBE AND CO-AUTHOR

It is important that James Lester Burke, the writer/scribe of the narrative/manuscript and co-author, be fully identified as well, thus leaving no doubt about the writing origins. This being accomplished, the thesis will proceed into a series of forensic investigations. Ascertaining who scribed the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript is basic in understanding the value and historical worth of the work. As the scribe's authenticity is established, the next step is to determine if he contributed in any way to the text. As there are textual interventions which alter the content or meaning, either by Burke or others, these interventions are examined. Their value to the historical record must then be evaluated.

Burke was born in 1822 and raised in the County of Westmeath, Ireland, where his mother Maria, brothers Francis, John and Thomas and sister Sarah were raised. Cash and Burke's social experiences would have been similar. The English ruling class, the local upper class, the constabulary, and the military would have been objects of overt scorn and hatred, even though many Irishmen, including Burke, served in the British military. For many Irish males, the military was the best and perhaps only way out of poverty or social anomie. Burke was one of those young men. He was quickly cashiered from the army. Burke's record states that he was twenty-six years old when he arrived in Hobart on the ship *Salween*, 1 February 1848.¹ At that time Cash had been on Norfolk Island for approximately four years. Cash would have been a legend in Van Diemen's Land. It would have been quite impossible for Burke to not know about some of the adventures of Cash, Kavanagh and Jones. Burke had a severe problem with authority figures which was to shadow him for the rest of his life. He had uncontrollable problems of three dimensions: drink, authority figures and anger. Stillwell wrote in a letter to Frank Clune, the writer of a popular novel about Cash:²

¹ Burke's Convict number: 9133, AOT, 2/362. Also see Burke's Convict record in this chapter.

² Frank Clune, *Martin Cash* (Sydney, 1969).

Burke states in a letter to J.W. Graves a Hobart Lawyer that he had in his early days been an articled clerk to J. Stanley, solicitor, of Angien Street, Dublin, and before entering the army had written for several of the leading counsels of that city. He could not have done very much because his convict record shows that he had joined the 22nd Regiment at 18 and remained with it until he was tried at the Poona Court Martial [India] of 17 June 1847 for Insubordination for striking a sergeant of the 22nd Regiment for which he received a sentence of transportation for life. He had had several previous convictions. Twice he had served forty-day terms for drunkenness, and had also been in prison for four months for desertion [when he probably was branded with the letter 'D' on his left side]. His trade was given as Clerk and his religion as Roman Catholic.³

After serving some time at Darlington on Maria Island, Van Diemen's Land, Burke was transferred to Hobart and became a constable. It is difficult to not speculate about the professionalism of the British convict system of the time if they made Burke a constable again. Before the month was out he received five days of solitary confinement for being drunk and sleeping on duty. Within another month he was once more found to be drunk and received two months imprisonment. He was then drummed out of the constabulary again.⁴

Burke was then convicted for insubordination in striking a sergeant of the 22nd Regiment, for which he was given transportation for life. He was branded with the letter 'D' on his left side. We do not know if it was on his cheek, forehead or buttocks. In Van Diemen's Land he was given two years in Darlington, Maria Island, on a station gang. The date was 22nd February 1848. On 27th June 1849, he was found to be under the influence of liquor and was put into dark solitary confinement, shortly after which he was again found to be drunk. His extensive record of behaviour reveals a deeply troubled man. On the 30th January 1852, he was once more found to be under the influence of liquor and put back into solitary confinement. On 30th January 1854, he was hospitalised in Hobart and also punished for abusive language for which he was given six months hard labour. On 7th September 1855, he was found absent without leave and given six months hard labour. On 12 March 1856, he was given twenty-one days for assaulting the night watch-keeper. On 28th October 1875, five years after he had written Cash's narrative, he was once more

³ AOT, #2/362, 1847.

⁴ See 'Burke's Convict Record' (Figures 5 & 6).

gaoled for making false utterances, presumably a forged cheque. On Friday 15th October 1875, the Hobart *Mercury* reported that Burke was fined or given seven days imprisonment for disturbing the peace in Goulburn Street. He was also charged with forgery and drawing a bill of exchange.⁵

His record is difficult to read because of the crowded nature of the many entries, but it would appear that he was placed in the Hobart Hospital approximately twenty times between 1849 and 1879. The list of misdemeanours, while not endless, continues with many other additions. Burke was trouble for many people and especially himself.

From 1848 until he died some thirty years later he was in trouble for being drunk, absconding, stealing, uttering false cheques and assaulting. Burke was finally given a Conditional Pardon in 1859 and kept his record clear until he received twelve months' hard labour for obtaining goods by false pretences in 1875.⁶ Burke's drinking did not stop and it is important to know of his problem with alcohol and also the curious aspect of his careful and clear penmanship. Binge drinking, if that is what his misuse of alcohol could be termed, is not usually congruent with good penmanship or clear thinking. However, he maintained his careful writing to the very end of the manuscript.

A short undated (c.1870-1878) letter in Burke's hand was placed loosely within the manuscript but not numbered as a folio. This letter is referred to as the 'poverty letter'.

Sir

I am absolutely driven by poverty and destitution to intrude myself again upon your notice, with an humble earnest and respectful prayer that you may in your benevolence stretch forth your hand and save me from impending destruction.

Sir, my early days I have been an articled clerk to Mr I Stanley or rather I Stanley Esquire Solicitor [*sic*] Angien Street Dublin and before entering the army I have written for several of the leading counsel in that city amongst whom were the Messrs M Donagh and W McTesty(?). I am now, through my own thoughtlessness folly, bereft of both patronage and friends and should you in charity grant me the

⁵ This data was extrapolated from James Lester Burke's Convict Record 1092.

⁶ Burke, Convict Record.

benefit of your influence in procuring me some employment, no matter in what capacity, the outpouring of a grateful heart shall be yours for the remaining portion of my life.

And beg to be
Sir
Your very humble servant
J. L. Burke.

The use of the word 'again' and the last sentence, '...the outpouring of a grateful heart shall be yours for the remaining portion of my life...' is somewhat grovelling for a man who was known as angry and anti-authoritarian. This would seem to illustrate that the letter belongs to the approximate period of the Brickfield letter of 1879. The regular and precise handwriting is most certainly Burke's. By matching the penmanship between the two letters and the narrative/manuscript, there can be no doubt that Burke is the scribe of the entire work. The problem left to examine is how and by whom the interventions, which were in Burke's hand, intruded upon the narrative. These interventions include poetry, Irish tales and other material brought into the manuscript.

It is conceivable that Cash and Burke knew each other in Hobart as the city of Hobart in 1860 had a small population of 19,092.⁷ As they were both chronic drinkers they possibly met at one or more of the waterfront bars. Some time during or before 1868 and 1869 would be the latest date they made acquaintance. It is probable that during this period the idea of publishing the Cash adventure as a convict novel came to the 'gentlemen' mentioned in the *Preface* of the 1870 edition. Burke was more than a scribe or amanuensis: the two men must be viewed as co-authors.

Unfortunately, there is no record of how the two men collaborated. We can only assume, because they completed the task of writing a complex book, that they had a reasonable relationship with each other. Burke's numerous notes in the margins made no mention of tensions between Cash and himself. There is no evidence to believe otherwise than that they were collegial. The manuscript probably became corrupted and altered during the narration process. Burke's notations show that he returned to the narrative, altering words

⁷ Hobart population, <http://www.tasfamily.net.au/~schafferi/index.php?file=kop39.php>, accessed 3 December 2010.

and phrases. It cannot be known where the alterations took place or whether Cash had a role in the changes. There are two possibilities: Burke took his notes to another place or changes were made in *situ*. It is not likely, however, that Burke made changes to the manuscript immediately after a session. Instead, it is more feasible that he took his new notes to another venue such as his place of abode. Burke also crossed out sections and inserted material such as the unnumbered long poem which he placed between Folios 206 and 207. In the 1870 edition spelling, punctuation and grammar were altered.

Graphology

Although the purpose of this thesis is not to study graphology, some consideration must be given to Burke's penmanship. It is clear that Burke was amanuensis to the text and it is a straight forward task to prove the text was written by one person. The Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript was written in the Victorian copperplate hand of the day. The entire manuscript is noted by its careful and almost perfect hand.

This singular proof of scribeship, as distinct from authorship, is apparent. First, the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript is immediately identified as being penned by the same person. Secondly, lines on the pages of the manuscript are invariably straight and neat. Thirdly, each page is carefully enumerated although there are, in the same hand, a few corrections of pagination. Fourthly, spelling errors do not vary and frequent misuse of the same word takes place such as 'was' for 'we was'. Fifthly, margins are vertically and horizontally straight. Sixthly, the lines of penmanship are consistently level. The manuscript was written entirely on lined paper apparently using the type of nib-pen used in the middle nineteenth century. Further proof is gained by comparing the penmanship of Burke's 'Letter from the Brickfields' which he penned in 1879 while in the Brickfields' establishment.⁸ The similarity is striking. This is further ascertained by the consistency of 's' endings, crossed 't's, punctuation, angle of handwriting, paragraphing, margins and general laxity of proper punctuation points. These individual strokes verify the matching style of one writer: Burke. The regular misspelling such as 'verry' and

⁸ See 'Burke's Brickfield Letter and Poverty Letter' (Appendix 9).

possession' are endemic. The letter is signed by Burke and is identical to the writing in the Cash manuscript.

If he was such a drunkard and ne'er-do-well it could be expected that his handwriting would be shaky. Yet, this is not the case. The entire 406 Folios of the manuscript and the *Addenda* are carefully scribed. A certain chaos of paragraphing is consistent as well. How a frequently intoxicated man could maintain a near-perfect hand throughout the manuscript remains a puzzle. Perhaps the official records were incorrect and that his frequent outbursts of rage were mistaken for drunkenness, but this is unlikely. The record at this point merely needs to show that the manuscript was written by one person and not intervened or corrupted by any other hand.

Dated 13 January 1879, Burke sent a letter of personal protest to the Superintendent of the Brickfields Invalid Depot.⁹ It should be noted that Burke had been in and out of the Brickfields Depot as it is recorded that he was admitted on 10 September 1878, at the age of fifty-nine when he was in bad health. During this incarceration he wrote his letter to Superintendent Witherington deeply criticising the institution and the morals of those in charge. A shortened example of the letter reads:

...It may be as well that I should first commence with our Superintendent with his palace and his garden and 250 pounds per annum, that gentlemans [*sic*] duty are simply as follows, in his shirt sleeves he puts in an appearance at 5 of a.m. in the morning, waited upon by the pauper mess men to whom he distributes the rations with Carte Blank to manipulate and dispose of them before placing them in the hands of the Cook. This Cook lets me respectfully observe receives the Tea & Sugar and in his daily visit to the nearest gin shop he generally converts a portion of the latter into a pint or two of Beer...there are occasions when he visits the yard in the afternoon, but as to see the comfort and cleanliness of the miserable inmates, that is nothing more nor less than a myth, perhaps he may observe a helpless pauper lying in the gutters of the institution if so he may have him removed to the smoking room by some of his pauper helps. He never seeks to know what state that pauper may be in crawling alive with vermin but this has become so plain and ostensible, that the wards and even the yard has become infested and may eventually prove a plague spot in the center [*sic*] of the community.¹⁰

⁹ AOT, CSD 10/69/1651, 1879.

¹⁰ James Lester Burke, 'A Cry from the Brickfields', CSD10/69/1651, 1879.

To verify Burke's anger, malcontent and anti-authoritarianism, we have a response to this angry letter. A copy of Burke's letter, or the letter itself, was handed to John Withrington, the Superintendent of the Brickfields. He wrote of Burke, who was now less than one year from his death on 24 July 1879:

...the last time for forgery...Constantly in the different Depos [*sic*] or Gaol, always been a disturber and a Drunkard...well known character very fond of writing...¹¹

Withrington's frustration with Burke's frequent transgressions shows his deep irritation towards the recalcitrant Burke. It is reasonable to think that Burke's many supervisors evinced the same frustration.

The following two excerpts illustrate the regularity of Burke's unmistakable handwriting. The first is a copy of Folio 37; the second is an excerpt from Burke's letter from the Brickfields.¹² This is followed by his convict records.

¹¹ James Lester Burke, *Memorandum, Brickfields Depot*, 13 January 1879.

¹² The Brickfields was an Invalids' prison in Hobart.

Figure 3
Narrative/Manuscript: Burke's Handwriting
Folio 37

Folio 37

under this supposition. I answered that I would
not give any person the trouble to go for my bedding
as I was determined to bring it myself. and I suc-
-cedingly left for the Station, and on reaching my
Shipmate, he expressed his surprise at ^{seeing me} my absence
and enquired of there was anything the matter, after
which I briefly informed him of the whole circum-
stances - at the conclusion of which he saddled his
horse, and telling me to remain where I was
until he returned he mounted and was
out of sight in a few minutes.

I could not imagine what was
the cause of his hasty departure, but I was some
way of opinion that I was the cause of it,
howbeit I remained at his place that night
and early next morning resumed my journey
= on arriving at my destination my friends
gathered round me having anxious to learn
the cause of my absence, and on making
them acquainted with the particulars they
were all of opinion that I would certainly get
a sentence, however. I remained at the
hut for that day and night - and early
the next morning having packed up
my bedding, I left with a view of returning
to the farm and braving the consequence.

I found on reaching my friends
place that he had not yet returned but
late in the evening I saw him riding
luxuriously across the plain and being
rather curious to learn what occasioned
him to leave me so abruptly I went
out to meet him = "his master had

Figure 4
Burke's Letter from the Brickfields
Colonial Secretary's Office, Tasmania, 3 January 1879

*Referred to the Superintendent of the Brickfields
Colonial Office for his attention*

1 Jan 79

To the Hon^{ble} *H. 1651*
J. M. Dooley, Esq. M. H. C.
A. Cyp. from The Brickfield Institution
Hon^{ble} Sir

Under the hope and impression that a more
glorious era appears on the horizon in reference to
our governing principle, when the illustrious names
of P. Kirby, Balfe, Dooley, O'Keely and the last the
not least: The man of the People "Crawther" shall
take the Helm, and clean out the Augean Stables

I would respectfully offer a few remarks
relative to our Charitable institutions, comparing
myself in the first instance to the Brickfield in
which I have been incarcerated for the last two months,
subject to a local order from Mr. Marleton which prohibits
the discharge of a patient for a period of three months
from the date of his admission.

It may be as well that I should first commence
with our Superintendent with his palace and his garden
and 250 £ per annum, that gentlemen's duties
are simply as follows, in his shirt sleeves he puts
in an appearance at 5 of a m in the morning,
waited upon by the pauper Mess men to whom
he distributes the rations, with Carte Blanche. to
manipulate and dispose of them before placing
them in the hands of the Cook. This Cook let me
respectfully observe receives the Tea & Sugar and
in his daily visit to the nearest gin shop he
generally converts a portion of the latter into
a pint or two of Beer - but with these trivial
matters I shall not further impose upon you

[illegible]

Burke's Lexicography

Further to the use of graphology in identifying the author/scribe of the narrative, lexicography is a valuable tool. The application of the two techniques to the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript leaves no doubt that Burke was the sole writer of the work. Consistent style of penmanship reveals that the approximately 155,635 words of both the narrative and the *Addenda* were scribed by one person. A lexicographical examination of the work substantiates Burke as the writer of the Cash story. This does not apply to the *Addenda*, however, as the items were selected by Burke from other sources and hence did not have the hallmarks of his style. Therefore, the examination below applies to only the narrative.

As Cash was illiterate, Burke had the freedom to record Cash's story as he wished, hence the style of expression is idiosyncratic to the scribe. Perhaps the most obvious idiosyncrasy is the frequent misspelling of selected words. For example, the following three words are never spelled correctly: 'verry' (used 580 times), 'posession' (39), 'seperated' (7). Incorrect grammar such as 'round' for 'around' (93) and 'I seen' for 'I saw' (90) is also a feature.

Also, the sense in which favourite words are used adds to the uniqueness of expression. Although the word 'worthy' is used only eleven times, it is always applied satirically to a hated person. Other examples of satire are the words 'unfortunate' (65) and 'sobriquet' (12). Favourite phrases such as 'at the same time...' (73), 'I here remark...' (28), and 'by and bye...' which was frequently misspelled, (32) also aid in identifying a writer and Burke is no exception. Appeals to the reader such as 'the reader will see...' (65) also feature. Diversions are common and the end of which are usually heralded by 'but to return to my story...'.¹³

Applying the tools of graphology and lexicography to the narrative/manuscript leaves no doubt that Burke was the sole scribe of *Adventures*.... However, to claim that Burke was only a scribe would be false. As stated previously, illiterate Cash's narration of the story

¹³ See 'Thirty-five Words and Phrases Idiosyncratic to Burke' (Appendix 7).

gave literate Burke the opportunity to interpret and record it in his own style. It is obvious therefore, that Cash and Burke were collaborators and must be viewed as co-authors of the work.

CHAPTER 5

OMISSIONS

‘THE BOOK WITHIN THE BOOK’

The 33,516 words omitted from the Cash manuscript by the 1880 publisher of the *Mercury Steam Press* obscured a great deal of information from the general public and researchers of Tasmanian/Australian penal history. The following chapter will examine a selection of omitted passages. Those passages deemed to be most important to the historical record have been examined. This investigation not only reinstates important historical material, it uncovers insights into Victorian mores of the time and, in the process, reveals a ‘_book within a book’. These omissions range from single phrases to one or two sentences and sometimes extend to as many as eighteen folios. For the most part, the shorter omissions appear to have been made on the basis that they are repetitive or grammatically incorrect; however, the rationale for suppressing many of the longer passages is more revealing and consequential and is the purpose of this chapter.

The folios may be considered as pages. They are numbered in Burke's hand on the top left-hand of each foolscap page. They total 406, the first five of which are unnumbered. Folios 249 and 250 have been crossed out by Burke for reason of their word for word repetition of the preceding two folios. The 'Long Poem' (discussed further in this chapter) was placed unnumbered in 'The Capture' (Chapter 8).

Fantasy tales, such as the story of Cash being wounded during the confrontation with the military and police at the Woolpack Inn, frequently became myths. These myths became reality in the popular mind and this phantasmagoria continues to confuse the historical record. It bears repetition that Cash's views are valuable to historiography because he had the viewpoint of a long term convict and was loquacious enough to weave an interesting yarn which was almost guaranteed to become popular in book form. The

twelve editions with their omissions veiled the original manuscript in that they suppressed material important to an insightful understanding of the period.

The following table shows the number of words per chapter which were omitted from the narrative in editions 1880-1981. Not included in this count are the 28,985 words of the *Addenda*.

TABLE 2
OMISSIONS PER CHAPTER

Total Words per Chapter		Words Omitted editions 2-13	
1.	28,451	1.	16,560
2.	16,734	2.	2,052
3.	8,845	3.	372
4.	6,020	4.	528
5.	9,039	5.	1,776
6.	25,053	6.	4,200
7.	7,095	7.	936
8/9.	15,274	8/9.	4,800
10.	5,605	10.	2,292
Total	122,116	Total	33,516

The following three extended quotes are used as examples of changes or alterations which the manuscript has undergone. Some alterations are not particularly important by themselves but must be taken collectively and evaluated holistically. When the entire manuscript is thus examined it becomes obvious that the text was significantly altered. By comparing the 1870 edition with the succeeding publications, the loss of material through these lengthy omissions is revealed. The first quotation is taken from the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. The second quotation is from the 1870 or first edition. The third quotation is from the 1880 or second edition which was the first publication to have 33,516 words expunged.

Folio 3: The Cash/Burke narrative reads:

Her mother, who was aware of our intimacy, afforded us every opportunity of being together. I therefore spent the greater part of my evenings in the society of the (?), and this circumstance, as the sequel will show, was of some service to me in after life, until I became quite proficient at the business. They borrowed money from me

upon all possible occasions which obliged me to draw so heavily and frequently upon my mother that she at last seriously remonstrated with me upon my ruinous propensities, observing that it was not in her power to indulge them any longer as the bulk of her property had now nearly squandered away. However I paid no attention to her admonitions. All I wanted was money, being perfectly regardless of where it was to come from as long as I could attain it—finding it was now more necessary than ever, having to support my mistress who together with her mother and sister...(162 words)

Page 2: The first edition (1870) reads:

Her mother was quite aware of our intimacy, and afforded us every opportunity of being in each other's company, consequently I spent the greater part of my time in her society, becoming quite a proficient at the business, and in this circumstance, trivial as it may appear, was of service to me in after life. They borrowed money of me upon every possible occasion, which obliged me to draw so heavily and frequently upon my mother that she at last seriously remonstrated with me upon my extravagance, assuring me that it was not in her power to indulge it any longer, as the bulk of her property had been now nearly squandered away. I paid very little attention to her admonition; all I wanted was money for my sweetheart, being perfectly regardless of where it came from, so long as I could obtain it, in order to support her and her mother and sister, who had now removed to a more commodious and expensive establishment, situated in the centre of the town, on the understanding that I was to furnish them with all contingent expenses. (185 words)

The 1870 edition was altered in style and extended by twenty-three words because of grammatical changes.

Page 2: The second edition (1880) reads:

Her mother was quite aware of our intimacy, and consequently I spent the greater part of my time in her society, becoming quite a proficient at the business, and this circumstance, trivial as it may appear, was of service to me in after life. They borrowed money of me upon every possible occasion, which obliged me to draw so heavily and frequently upon my mother that she at last seriously remonstrated with me upon my extravagance assuring me that it was not in her power to indulge it any longer, as the bulk of her property had been now nearly squandered away. I paid very little attention to her admonitions; all I wanted was money for my sweetheart, being perfectly regardless of where it came from, so long as I could obtain it, in order to support her and her mother and sister...¹⁴ (143 words)

¹⁴Verso and fly leaf of the 1880 edition state: Walch's Shilling Series of Old Tasmanian Books No.1; *Martin Cash, The Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843*. 'A personal Narrative of his Exploits in the Bush and his Experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island', fifteenth thousand; Tasmania: Hobart and Launceston.

Comparing the above quote with the 1870 edition, the passage has had forty-two words removed.

The 33,516 omitted words from the narrative constitute twenty-seven percent of the total 122,119 words. The omissions, including the 28,985 words of the *Addenda*, total 62,501 words. The proportion of omissions in the post-1870 editions is slightly over fifty percent. This certainly gives credence to the phrase of a 'book within a book'. As it is impossible to examine all omissions in the course of this thesis, some of the more significant are examined below. The Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript begins at Cash's birth in Ireland and follows the chronology of his life until his release from Norfolk Island. Therefore, these omissions have been dealt with sequentially in order to retain the timeline of the narrative thus preserving the integrity of the story.

The omissions have been placed into categories, perhaps the most significant of which are 'homophobia' and 'solidarity and individualism among convicts'. References to homosexuality occur in the chapters dealing with Norfolk Island. These, for the most part, are allusions as the word 'homosexual' does not appear in common usage until some years after the publication of the Cash/Burke work. It seems that Burke and Cash wished to reveal that such practices occurred yet they did not overtly reference them. It appears that the 1880 editor was sensitive to Cash and Burke's veiled references and censored them. This perhaps reveals the social mindset of men under incarceration as well as newspaper editors of the day. Not only is there solidarity in the face of those in charge, common human characteristics are revealed: the need to survive, competition at others' expense, the urge to prove superiority and the need to protect self. These instincts extend to the lower classes such as the B—n's. 'Aboriginal customs', although of dubious truth suggest early attitudes towards indigenous people who were generally considered inferior beings. Interestingly, Cash expresses an appreciation of their fishing techniques and also a degree of sympathy. Yet, overall, Cash seems to also view them as inferior.

Chapter 1: *Early Days*

Total Words: 28,451

Omitted Words: 16,560

Percentage of Omissions: 58

Early Days focuses on Cash's childhood in Ireland, his arrest and transportation to Australia, his experiences in New South Wales, his elopement with Eliza, his escape to Tasmania and his imprisonment in the Port Arthur penitentiary. As the 1880 editor's intention was to produce a story of adventure set in Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island, it is to be expected that much of the manuscript version of *Early Days* would have been omitted as irrelevant.¹⁵ The initial task of the editor was to delineate Cash the person, provide enough information to place him in New South Wales and to locate him in Tasmania. Therefore, the first chapter must be seen as introductory to Cash's adventures in Van Diemen's Land.

Folio 2¹⁶

A section of twenty-six lines does not appear post-1870. Here Cash claims to have been a frequent truant from school and numerous times expelled _by three different fathers' (priests), and also claiming to be _the leader in everything that had a mischievous tendency'. He describes himself as _very early imbibed in habits of dissipation which soon placed me beyond the bounds of parental authority'. There is no reason to disbelieve these claims. The omission was probably made on the grounds that the passage was extraneous to the adventure story. Although this section has little or no connection to Cash's experiences as a convict, it has some value in providing an insight into his character and upbringing.

¹⁵ Norfolk Island is seen as an extension of Van Diemen's Land as Cash was committed from Hobart. There would also have been a connection in the public consciousness because the Norfolk Island men were sent to Tasman Peninsula following the closure of the Norfolk Island establishment in 1855, despite a public outcry against this relocation.

¹⁶ The folios are unnumbered until Folio 6. Folios 2-5 are an estimate as these are not numbered in the manuscript.

Folio 5

In Folio 5, a section of three lines in which Cash says ‘_thedoctor...entertained but a verry [*sic*] unfavourable view of his [Jessop’s] recovery’ does not appear in 1880-1981 editions probably on the grounds that the record gives housebreaking as the reason for Cash’s transportation, not the shooting of his lover’s paramour. In this passage Cash presents himself as an errant hero, which, although not particularly cogent to the penal system in Australia and the Cash adventure story, suggests that Cash’s urge to self aggrandise was, in this instance, stronger than his desire to tell the truth.

Folio 6

A longer passage in Folio 6 makes brief reference to the voyage destined for that ‘_dreaded receptacle of human depravity’, a voyage on which Cash claims to have been ‘_a great favourite with the sailors’ and quick to learn the art of ‘_furling the sails’. Cash’s main incentive is to present self as superior and popular. However, it must be remembered that at the place of narration Cash’s exaggeration of his early years could not be challenged so he was free to play to his audience as he wished. The 1880 editor most likely viewed these sections as having little bearing on the Cash adventure, but their exclusion once again masks the excesses of Cash’s character. However, Cash’s freedom to be loose with the truth was to disappear, especially in his coverage of Van Diemen’s Land and Norfolk Island.

Folios 11 and 13-16

Large sections of Cash’s presentation of his experiences in New South Wales have been cut. The second half of Folio 11 does not appear, nor do Folios 13-15 and most of 16. These sections refer to the period of his assignment to Mr George Bowman who was known by assignees as ‘_a bit of a martinet’. Cash claims he was sent to ‘_break up land with a hoe’ and, shortly thereafter, sent to another of Bowman’s farms where he was put in charge of the cattle. In the deleted section of Folio 11, he describes his life as ‘_like a green spot in the desert...free from daily annoyances and petty tyranny’ where he ‘_faternized with the natives...a much superior race to the aborigines [*sic*] of Van Diemen’s Land’. The reason for the editor’s decision was most likely to restrict the

adventure story to Cash's experiences in Van Diemen's Land and also an unwillingness to assign to Cash a period of relative ease. The long section (Folios 13-16) is also not pertinent to the editor's intention. Similar to Cash's description of himself aboard the *Marquis of Huntly*, he presents himself as highly competent, appreciated and able to allay the resentment of his fellow assignees. During this period he has time for a 'few hours in platting' and time for 'fishing in order to kill time'. Once again, the reason for the decision to cut much of this section appears to be because it serves no purpose to the editor's intention.

Folios 19 & 20

Other sections seem to have been omitted with the intention to protect the elite of society. An example can be found at the end of Folio 19 and the beginning of Folio 20. This short section describes the treatment meted to those sent for trial over which Captain Pike and/or Mr Ogilvie presided, '...not a verry unusual circumstance as almost anything constituted a crime...'. Cash claims that 'Mrs Ogilvie was known to enter the court room, saying 'my dear, give him fifty lashes to please the child [meaning the prisoner]'. This section, of course, must have been seen as extraneous to the editor's cause.

Folios 23-27

Similar extraneous material appears in a longer section (Folios 23-27) which gives a very detailed description of an incident in which, once more, Cash presents himself as a compassionate, popular and competent hero who protects a 'weak and vacillating' shepherd (Abbott) from retribution by retrieving his ninety strayed sheep. This section ends with a diversion by giving account of Abbott's replacement by 'astout, athletic man ...one would be inclined to believe him a perfect hercules [sic]'.

Folios 30-40

A longer passage of ten folios continues in the same vein, with Cash expounding upon his prowess and endurance in bringing in a herd of stray cattle, a feat much praised by the overseer: '...I do not believe there is another man in the colony could perform the same feat...'. Again the question arises as to whether Cash wanted to promote himself rather

than tell the truth. In this section, Cash tells of receiving his ticket-of-leave; however, the 1880 editor saw fit to delete this.

Folios 42-71

A much longer example can be found in Folios 42–71. This passage gives further examples of Cash as a competent hero, but a further reason for the editor's decision may have been to protect Victorian mores by excluding Cash's surreptitious visits to his lover, Eliza's negative feeling of 'disgust and indifference' towards her husband, Cash's defection and their elopement. It is surmised, knowing some of the sensitivities of the Victorian era that such indiscretions as running off with someone's wife, were offensive to readers of the time. Cash's intrusion of an avowed episode during which he picked up pumice stones which 'burned their way through' his pockets and viewing 'a column of smoke which issued from a crater' appears to be fanciful as there is no reference to active volcanoes in the record nor in scientific research. This addition was most likely told by Cash in order to embellish his story. No matter which, the motive of the editor is obvious. Similarly, the description of the cutting of hair by means of 'a lighted stick' with the hair immediately catching fire may have been a common initiation rite, but its relevance to the Cash adventure is negligible.

Folios 77-79

This long omission is interesting because of its reference to Governor King's 'night adventures'. According to Cash, King was 'very eccentric' which was a generally held view at the time. In this episode King 'invested one of his servants...with all the dignity and authority of his own office...for the space of two hours' while he (King) went on one of his mysterious endeavours. Whether or not this story is true in its actuality, it is true to King's reputation; however, the story of King's escapade is very likely an insertion. The motive for excluding this section is undoubtedly because of its irrelevance; a second reason may very well have been to protect the character of King.

Folios 85-88

This omission begins with the introductory words ‘I must retrograde by informing the reader that six months prior...’, immediately suggesting an unrelated story in which Cash projects himself as somewhat of a ‘lady’s man’ by inviting three pretty young women ‘to have some refreshment in the steerage...leaving the soldiers to entertain themselves as best they could’. It is not known if the story of the disappearance of evidence of murder (the portion of a skull) is a fanciful embellishment or if it is the insertion of a true event. Cash tells about a convict whose skull was being taken back to Sydney to verify its identity. Cash infers he stole the skull and threw it overboard to thwart the soldiers' task. No matter which, in so far as the editor’s intention is concerned, the episode bears very little importance, especially as it interrupts Cash’s and Eliza’s arrival in Sydney and their embarkation on the *Francis Freeling* for Van Diemen’s Land.

It must be remembered that the intention of the editor(s) of the second edition was to tell an adventure story set in Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island. The target audience for the Cash book would not have been for those who lived in New South Wales but for citizens of Tasmania. As the first chapter deals mainly with Cash's experiences in New South Wales it should be no surprise that irrelevance to the editor's intention is a major reason for excluding some passages (Folios 3, 6, 11, 13-16, 23-27, 42-47, 77-79, 85-88). Other themes such as Aboriginal culture emerge (Folio 11). Cash's self-aggrandisement features (Folios 5, 6, 23-27, 30-40, 42-47 and 85-88). Psychological and physical cruelty surfaces as additional categories (Folios 19 & 20) as do protection of Victorian sensitivities (Folios 42-47). Likewise, the shielding of the elite is apparent (Folios 19, 20, 77-79), campfire tales are not featured (Folios 42-47) and the issue of government corruption is veiled (Folios 77-79).

Chapter 2: *Van Diemen's Land, 1837*

Total Words: 16,734

Omitted Words: 2,052

Percentage of Omissions: 13

Chapter 2 totals 16,734 words with deletions of 2,052. This is a significantly lower percentage of omitted material in comparison with Chapter 1. This immediately reinforces the supposition that the 1880 editor decided to focus on Cash's experiences in Van Diemen's Land, a supposition verified by the title given to the second edition: *Martin Cash, His Personal Narrative as a Bushranger in Van Diemen's Land*. In addition, most omissions in Chapter 2 are two or three lines in length; only one passage of three folios rivals the extensive omissions in Chapter 1. An important feature of the omitted material is the emergence of relationships and motives within the convict classes.

Folios 92 & 93

One of Cash's early experiences while in Van Diemen's Land was being wrongly accused of stealing a watch and a handkerchief. The event took place when Cash and Eliza were in the employ of Dr Gilmore, who permitted them to occupy a hut near his residence. When approached by an unknown man and woman asking for shelter, Cash, because 'an appeal of this description is seldom refused in the country I have left', acceded. Cash made them 'as comfortable as [he] could...giving them part of [his] bedding' and was able to 'see where the two strangers were sleeping'. When the man accused Cash of stealing his watch, Cash 'took the law into [his] own hands and thrashed him well for his ingratitude'. The melee brought Dr Gilmore 'to the spot, and seeing his servant woman in company...sent for a couple of constables and gave us all a charge'. This episode leads to an amusing description of Cash's arrest in which he knocked down a constable and 'my blood being up, I was of opinion that I might as well have a little exercise, I therefore belaboured my accuser unmercifully'. Cash, with hands and feet bound, was then taken to Longford in a wheelbarrow. In typical braggadocio style, Cash claims that Jack Herbert, who witnessed the event, made the observation that 'a few more men such as myself would be able to destroy all the vermin on the island'. Interestingly, the omitted section details the trial of the four involved wherein Cash's accuser is

charged with 'sleeping with a government woman', the woman of 'absenting herself from her master's quarters' and 'me and my companion...of stealing a watch'. Eliza and Cash were 'immediately acquitted and my accuser next arraigned'. When asked to verify the couple's sleeping arrangement, Cash asserts 'I could not take it upon myself to say where she slept', thus saving the 'government woman' who had already been convicted of stealing the watch. The interesting point about this episode is that Cash took the opportunity to present self as honourable and upstanding. It is somewhat beside the point as to whether or not the prosecutor 'expressed his regret at making the accusation' and that 'had he known me a little better he would sacrifice fifty watches before he would prosecute me ...'. The importance is the claim's verification of Cash's high self-opinion. Cash's reply is also interesting:

I answered that on this as on all other occasions I merely acted on the principle making it a general practice of returning good for evil, adding that the people of Tasmania might know me better some day, prophetic words which I did not then imagine to come to be fulfilled.

This event presents two main themes: Cash as a noble man and 'honour among thieves'. Remembering the mission of shortening the Cash narrative, it may have been the editor's opinion that Cash as a superior person had already been firmly established, and that 'honour among thieves' was not very important to the adventure story. However, in the process of editing, an example of the machinations of lower class society is lost.

Folio 97

Although short, this omission of two lines is worthy of consideration as it has a bearing on the editing rationale. Cash is now in Campbell Town and under the employ of Mr Kane, at the end of which employment he gained work with Mr McLeod. The omitted section pertains to McLeod who, Cash claims, 'subsequently figured on the list of colonial swindlers ...'. This may seem insignificant, but it supports a pattern which becomes increasingly familiar: the protection of those in authority and, in this case, a landowner. A further reason was possibly to avoid being viewed as libellous and therefore charged with slander. This is further supported by the editor's retention of Cash's less damaging recollection of Mr McLeod as a trustworthy cashier at the

Campbell Town Bank and as a hospitable man whose _house is generally filled up with company, and the continual round of balls, fetes [and] picnics‘.

Folio 98

The retention of McLeod as trustworthy is immediately followed by the exclusion of an entire folio. The omission begins with more about McLeod:

In his capacity as justice of the peace, he [McLeod] signed a warrant for my apprehension and I am only too sorry to say that the ink was scarcely dry before another had been issued for himself on the charge of robbing the bank of all the money it contained He was a more fortunate man than me however, having succeeded in effecting his escape from the colony...

Cash’s implication that McLeod is the culprit is very transparent, but whether the incident did in fact take place or whether it is Cash’s fantasy has not been ascertained.¹⁷ However, regardless of its truth, the exclusion of Cash’s claim continues the rationale of protecting the upper class. The omitted passage proceeds with Cash’s somewhat lengthy protestations of his innocence of petty theft by claiming he had been duped for the second time by someone to whom he had given shelter:

...I here solemnly declare in the presence of my god that I am and was innocent of paltry theft then imputed to me begging to be judged by public opinion as to whether any one action of my life either before or after have the slightest degree of resemblance to the miserable and trivial charge that was brought against me.

Cash proceeds with the claim that _...my conduct while under arms in the bush in 1843 was mainly influenced by the treatment I received on that occasion at the hands of the authorities‘ and that he was once more _the victim of my hospitable propensities ...‘.¹⁸ However, whether or not true, Cash’s assertion deflects the blame for his later misfortunes onto the system. The exclusion from the post-1870 editions of this folio is to be expected: Cash’s repeated protestations of innocence interrupt the flow of adventure and the necessity to protect McLeod from Cash’s implication of guilt. The historical value of this section is slim; however, it is reasonable to extrapolate that Cash's shifting

¹⁷ A cursory investigation of the records gave no information on the bank robbery as to whether it did in fact take place or who was the culprit.

¹⁸ Cash was convicted and sentenced to seven years of servitude.

of blame and protestations of innocence reflect similar attitudes and actions of those of low status.

Folio 100

Folio 99 is an interlude between the omissions of Folios 98 and 100. In this retained section, Cash details his 'second duping' which, of course, has a bearing on his 'life of adventure'. Of more interest is the excluded passage that follows wherein Cash again protests innocence by claiming 'had I secured the services of a lawyer...I should have been acquitted as the stolen property was found in Miller's bundle but the fates having ordained it otherwise I was fully committed'. Cash's protestation of innocence reflects Folios 92 and 93 and in both cases Cash claims he was duped. He again refers to his generosity in allowing 'a man named Miller who requested me to let him stop at my place for a night of two'. The above omission is followed by one sentence which, obviously, the editor regarded as essential information for the story and therefore to be retained.

The omission resumes with further information on the trial with the report that eleven others were tried, one of whom was sentenced to execution and nine 'sent to that wretched receptacle of crime and depravity, Port Arthur'. At this point, the 1880 edition resumes with the information that 'I was forwarded to a station known as Malcolm's Hut' which, again, is important to the story of Cash.

There are three possible reasons why Cash was duped for the second time under almost identical circumstances: he was a fool; he was bound by the Irish code of ethics to fiercely protect his own kind; he fabricated the story. While it has little direct bearing on historiography, the passage reflects on Cash's character and motivations. As he was not a fool and there is no discernable reason for him to lie, it is more likely Cash's generosity is a further example of solidarity among Irish transportees.

Folios 129–131

This long omission takes place when Cash, accompanied by Eliza, is searching for work in the Huon area. The reason for the editor's decision for this elimination follows a

familiar pattern: the section does not have a direct bearing on the Cash adventure story. The excluded material does, however, provide an insight into the emotional condition of the underclass. In his search, Cash stops at a hut where he is refused his request for a glass of water. With the words *‘I will not be taken’*, it seems the occupant, like Cash, was a runaway. Despite Cash’s protestations, the inhabitant remains fearful and suspicious, being convinced *‘I was in possession of a writ for his body’*. Being *‘at a loss to imagine by what he was guided in supposing me to be an officer of the law’* and, finding the man’s wife to be in *‘great trepidation’*, Cash *‘took his leave’*. The passage continues with Cash’s return, ostensibly to convince the occupant and his wife that he *‘was not an officer of the crown’*. Cash’s reappearance intensifies their alarm, generating *‘a doleful sound...from some remote part of the house’*. The reason for their suspicion is revealed with the man’s words that *‘I forgot to conceal some of my robes of office’*, the telltale garment being *‘a pink cassimiere [*sic*] waistcoat’*, presumably stolen by Cash.

This incident is followed by a similar one in reverse in which Cash and Eliza think themselves in danger of arrest. In this encounter, Cash shows presence of mind by inviting the visitor into his house and ordering Eliza to *‘provide him with some refreshments’*, in spite of the man’s recognition of them both. The contrast between Cash and the occupant of the hut is very apparent when Cash, *‘thinking that some explanation was necessary’*, accompanies *‘him for about a mile in the bush’*. On assuring Cash of *‘his regret on seeing us, observing that it might occasion us some uneasiness’* and *‘to put myself to no inconvenience by removing’*,¹⁹ the visitor declares his imminent departure for Melbourne. However, *‘as he never mentioned the circumstances to any person...the occurrence gave rise to the painful reflection that we were liable to be discovered by persons who might not regard us with the same friendly feeling’*.

The veracity of the second incident is problematic as it may have been included to depict Cash as braver, more resourceful and more respected. Whether it is a fabrication, the incident illustrates the anxiety generated by constant fear of arrest, even for superior Cash.

¹⁹ Meaning *‘by departing’*.

Folios 134–136

The Cash adventure resumes with Cash's return to Hobart Town, 'knowing that I held my liberty on a verry uncertain tenure ...'. On being recognized by a former Campbell Town neighbour, Cash's misgivings are realised when he is 'sized by six constables who were placed in ambush':

The next day I was placed before Mr John Price of Norfolk Island celebrity who in his own peculiar style exclaimed 'Well Martin you've had a pretty good run this time, however I believe you acted on the square, as I'm aware that you've been working at one place for the last twelve months.

Of course, this information is essential for the continuing adventure as it heralds Cash's experiences on Norfolk Island.

The omitted section which follows is clearly extraneous to the Cash adventure, but it does have a bearing on the social milieu of Hobart Town. The satirical vein clearly focuses on Solomon Blay the hangman, who, in company with Cash and four others, is lined up for identification. The manuscript diverts to the reason for Blay's apprehension, with Blay taking 'it into his head one day during the New Town Races, to exercise his old profession'. This profession is revealed as housebreaking and robbery, with Blay and accomplice taking 'the liberty while the inmates were seeing life at the races to efect [*sic*] an entrance'. This glimpse of recreational activities and the opportunity they provided infers a degree of social disorder despite the harsh treatment dealt to offenders.

The omission escalates in its satire of Blay and the system with 'the government...being anxious to procure the services of this desperate person restored him to his office'.²⁰ The satire continues to rise by elevating common criminal Blay to the level of Admiral Sir Charles Napier:

Great men, they say, will not be restricted as in the case of Admiral Sir Charles Napier when in command of the Baltic fleet, but Solomon Blay, though a functionary of some notoriety, was still a man of the world and thought he had better hold a candle to his sable majesty. He therefore embraced office...or any other restrictions namely to that in lieu of Norfolk Island.

²⁰ Blay as hangman.

There is little doubt about the editor's rationale in this case, nor does the omission withhold significant information. However, the passage does illustrate convict derision dealt to those who curried favour.

In Chapter 2 solidarity and individualism (Folios 92-93, 100, 129-131, 134-136) among convicts is a strong theme. In the case of Blay quite the opposite emerges as Cash is in derision of Blay's criminal activities and his 'reward' of the position of hangman. Through the use of satire Cash makes fools of the elite which is a probable reason for the omission of this section. Self aggrandisement was again omitted on a generous scale (Folios 92, 93, 98, 100, 129-131). As some passages were viewed as irrelevant to the story (Folios 92, 93, 129-131) they were omitted. Cash's satirical depiction of the elite was seemingly the reason for excluding Folios 97, 98, and 134-136.

Chapter 3: *Port Arthur*

Total Words: 8,845

Total Omissions: 372

Percentage of Omissions: 4.2

With only 372 words of a total of 8,845, Chapter 3 has the smallest percentage of omissions in comparison with all other chapters. As far as the 1880 edition is concerned, *Port Arthur* was probably seen as the beginning of Cash's adventures in Van Diemen's Land, hence the paucity of discarded material as the chapter would have been viewed as being of primary importance. It begins with Cash's arrival at the Port Arthur penal settlement, details the conditions endured by the convict 'criminals', includes Cash's failed attempt to abscond and ends with his successful escape across Norfolk Bay in company with Kavanagh and Jones, who were to be his companions during nine months on the run.

Folio 143

This omission accounts for 288 words and is the longest and one of the most significant in the entire chapter. Preceding the omission is Cash's introduction to Port Arthur and

the misuse of power by many of those in command. Cash tells of corruption, extortion and the severe punishments dealt by sub-overseers to those convicts who refused to comply with their demands. Prisoners' rations are also detailed, leading to Cash's account of the misappropriation of the meagre allocation by the convict cook for sale to overseers. The omission elaborates the network of crooked dealing:

...in this rascally practice... he²¹ was assisted by his runners...who always knew where anything was to be had and winning the confidence of the person who they imagined was in possession of a few shillings would then suggest the propriety of tipping the overseer with a view to getting a slant. All was fish that came into their net...and woe-betide the unhappy proprietor if he did not give them up.²²

The omitted passage proceeds to detail the prisoners' rations _...for which I had an excellent appetite':

...six ounces of salt pork, one pint of soup and twelve ounces of brown bread. I cannot describe the soup...the pork having been boiled is then removed from the water...the allotted quantity of swedes and cabbages were then cut up and placed in the copper and when nearly cooked one or two pieces of pork were again returned to the copper with a view of giving it a flavour.

The exclusion of this passage may have been to eliminate unnecessary detail; however, the loss of information from the point of view of a detainee and the removal of emotional _colour' are unfortunate.

Chapter 4: *Escape Across the Neck*

Total Words: 6,020

Omitted Words: 528

Percentage of Omissions: 8.8

Chapter 4 recounts Cash's escape from Port Arthur in company with Kavanagh and Jones. As the chapter is untitled in the manuscript, the title *Escape across the Neck* is taken from the first few words of the chapter. The three desperadoes escape Tasman Peninsula by swimming across Norfolk Bay which was supposedly shark infested, thereby outsmarting an outpost of soldiers stationed at Eaglehawk Neck, a narrow isthmus separating Tasman Peninsula from Forestier Peninsula. After traversing

²¹ Identity is unknown as the previous folio is missing.

²² A pair of braces.

Forestier Peninsula, they reach mainland Tasmania when, after several attempts, they evade the garrison at East Bay Neck. In immediate need of food, clothes and arms, the three commit their first robbery and, by arming themselves with a gun taken from the premises, Cash reflects that they are _now committed beyond redemption as the fact of our taking up arms involved the sentence of death', and so began their nine months on the run.

Folios 178, 179 & 180

Reflecting on their desperate situation, the three escapees unanimously agree that _none of us could be guilty of anything unmanly or resort to unnecessary violence or insult...save in the case of resistance or when our liberty was endangered and fight only when it was absolutely necessary' and resolving to shoot themselves rather than _being taken alive'.

The words _on coming to this decision we talked on different subjects' herald a diversion which, no doubt, prompted the editor to omit an unnecessary passage. The three continue to dwell on their plight, with Cash recalling the words of hangman, Blay, that _if I ever had the luck to be placed under his special care...he would favour me...by giving me an extra foot of rope'.²³ The mood becomes grimmer as the three men discuss Blay's methodology of execution, sending _eight or nine wretches out of the world at once'. The ensuing grim humour that _nine would hang comfortable...ten would be rather crowded...' is far from humorous. Cash's musings then turn to Jones' skill as a cook and a discussion on who should be in charge of the gun. The words _the next morning we continued our journey' signal the end of the diversion and the resumption of the adventure.

While the omission contains no new historical fact, it is reasonable to deduce that the gang's use of grim humour in a desperate situation was not unusual in men on the run. It is also reasonable to assume that similar methods of effacing difficult circumstances

²³ An extra foot of rope meant that the person who was hanged by Blay would not die a quick death from a broken neck but would have his feet on the ground and slowly strangle.

through the use of irony were used by the B—ns and those of similar lower status. Accepting the logic of this deduction, it is reasonable to extrapolate that humour was not an uncommon device used by convicts, escapees and those of low social rank in order to make light of difficult dilemmas.

Folio 181

The Cash adventure proceeds to Jerusalem and the robbery of Mr Blinkworth's. The omission involves a woman _who I first imagined to be the missis [*sic*]...', but who reveals herself as the wife of someone who _was then at Port Arthur under sentence'. Cash then recalls that _she evinced the utmost desire to serve us...in the plundering of the commissariat department ...'. The value of this passage is its affirmation of social solidarity among convicts and their families.

Folio 183

The story proceeds to the botched robbery of a _public house' near Bagdad during which, because of Jones' laxity, a prisoner escapes. The three desperadoes have no recourse than to retreat fully clothed but missing the five hundred pounds _which we afterwards heard was in the house'.

The omitted passage centres on Kavanagh _upbraiding him [Jones] with wont [*sic*] of vigilance' and Cash's tolerant and forgiving observation that _we should all know better next time'. The emerging rift within the gang illustrates the stresses experienced by those who escape the law. In fact, most omissions in this chapter have a bearing on historiography through the suggestion of mutual support in the underclass and thus to an understanding of the social milieu.

This chapter features solidarity (Folios 178, 179, 180, 181, 183) amongst the convict classes which includes the wife of a convict and Cash's congratulation of himself as forgiving and tolerant (Folio 183).

Chapter 5: *The Woolpack*

Total Words: 9,039

Omitted Words: 1,776

Percentage of Omissions: 19.7

Chapter 10 begins with the raid of the Woolpack Inn during which the gang is challenged by a group of constables. During this episode, Cash, for the first time, wounds one of his opponents, later learning that ‘my ball had entered his left side and tore away two ribs from his backbone’. Being in an even worse situation than before, the gang finds refuge at Cobb’s Hill with the B—n family, who are Kavanagh’s relatives. The tale of adventure then continues with Mrs B—n’s trip to Hobart in search of Eliza and with news of Cash’s presence. This introduces Mr Marriot, Cash’s future rival, and forecasts the betrayal and capture of Cash.

Folios 193 & 194

This omission involves Cash’s request for grog. Cash reflects that ‘it was rather imprudent to send Mr B—n on such an errand to a populace township...particularly as he was aware that a verry large reward was offered by the government...’.²⁴ Cash then reveals the truth of Marriot’s betrayal by recalling Price’s later affirmation that shoemaker Marriot was indeed the police informant. Attention shifts to Jones’s ‘wonderful progress in the good graces of Mrs B—n’, indicating their impending affair. Cash becomes uneasy about Eliza’s absence ‘as I was confident that it must be something extraordinary that could have detained her...’, whereupon Mrs B—n assures Cash that Eliza had ‘...arrived at ten o’clock that morning...’ and that the reason for not telling him immediately was ‘...merely to see how I would bear the disappointment’.

The deletion of this passage is puzzling because the aura of impending treachery engenders a feeling of suspense, a common device of action stories; therefore, the logical assumption is that brevity was uppermost in the editor’s mind. Although the omission

²⁴ Bridgewater.

may be seen as having little value to the historical record, it has a bearing on the social history of the time as it indicates the power of opportunism over mechanical solidarity.

Folio 199

This short omission is an affirmation of Cash as a faithful and honourable man with a sense of duty '...to provide for her [Eliza] in the only manner the laws of the country prescribed'.²⁵ The passage has little value to either history or the story of adventure, but it does add to the developing myth of righteous Cash.

Folios 201 & 202

Eliza has now joined Cash, Kavanagh and Jones in their fortress on Mt Dromedary where they could '...see several parties of police and military scouring the country in search of us ...!' Accordingly, Cash becomes concerned for Eliza's welfare. The omitted passage excludes Eliza's warning that '...my comrades were not kindly towards me...' and that 'they would part with me when they knew more of the country ...'. Cash confidently rejects her warning with '...they could not do without me ...'. He then returns to Eliza's welfare, advising her not to take 'any of the articles'²⁶ we had given her in town as the police would be awaiting her return ...'.²⁷ Here the omission is interrupted with the gang's chance meeting with '...a gentleman named Cook who we lightened of a watch and double barrell'd shotgun'. The omission resumes with Cash's denial of *The Advertiser's* report that 'Kavanagh told Mr Cook that I had received a flesh wound...at the Woolpack...' or that he had threatened Captain Forster at Brighton. The exclusion of the above passage eliminates the developing theme of 'lack of honour among thieves' in desperate situations; otherwise, it adds little to the history of the time.

Folios 203 & 204

This omission centres on the gang's departure from the B—n's where once more they are given refuge. Cash takes the opportunity to compliment Jones '...upon the wonderful progress he was making with Mrs B—n ...', to which Jones seems to be flattered and it

²⁵ Cash probably means 'theft'.

²⁶ Presumably stolen goods.

²⁷ Eliza does take the goods to town and is arrested for possession of stolen goods.

appears to Cash _...tha if they did not come to a good understanding it would not be her fault'. A friendship is also developing between Kavanagh and Mrs B—n who infers that he must be her uncle, causing Cash to reflect that _...the former [Mrs B—n] appeared to be proud of the relationship ...'.' In depicting Cash's growing isolation, the above omission foreshadows his later betrayal and develops the theme of opportunism. To emphasize the point, the editor's decision to exclude the above passages loses their value to social history in their depiction of the social milieu.

This chapter is relatively straight forward in that the growing antagonisms between the members of the Cash gang and the B—n's and the growing isolation of Cash indicates the eroding solidarity within the gang and their collaborators (Folios 193 & 194, 201 & 202, 203 & 204). It is impossible to determine what was in the mind of the editor(s) regarding their view of what was irrelevant to the Cash adventure tale; however, it would appear that Folio 199 stands by itself as this passage does not connect to the surrounding text.

Chapter 6: *Fresh Adventures*

Total Words: 25,053

Omitted Words: 4,200

Percentage of Omissions: 16.8

This chapter continues Cash's period of bushranging with Kavanagh and Jones, emphasizing Cash's notoriety, audacity, cockiness, leadership qualities, courtesy to women and contempt of authority. The abode of the B—n family emerges as an important place of respite where, close to the gang's hideaway on Mt Dromedary, Cash, Kavanagh and Jones are able to party while evading capture. This period of rampage is excellent fodder for an adventure tale and, with referrals to Eliza, the theme of love betrayed is introduced, thereby setting the scene for later climactic events to take place in Hobart. Thus the myth of Cash as the _gentleman bushranger' is reinforced. It is also a perfect chance for Cash to set himself up as a superior leader in spite of his occasional denials. Because of the title, *Fresh Adventures*, and the swashbuckling spirit of the chapter, it is to be expected that the pattern of omissions will have altered.

Folio 216

A two-line omission near the beginning of the chapter is worthy of mention. The decision was obviously made because of its diversion to ‘_extracts and daily journals’ which ‘_appear in another part of these pages’, to which the reader is urged to refer.²⁸ This is certainly irrelevant to the Cash story; in fact, the voice appears to be Burke’s, not Cash’s.

Folio 219

This omission occurs during the raid on Mr Edols’ residence where Cash informs that ‘_we broke the firearms which we found in the house’. The reason for disarming the weapons is obvious, but Burke and/or Cash felt the need for further explanation and added ‘_because they were loaded and unsafe ...’. The omission then urges the reader to refer to ‘_extracts from the *Advertiser*’ wherein it is claimed that ‘_Mr Edols was totally unarmed’, which Cash refutes. There can be little puzzlement why these lines were cut.

Folios 220–222

This passage appears to be Burke’s embellishment and is certainly extraneous to a tale of adventure. Words and phrases such as ‘_sequestered’, ‘_embellish’, ‘_mastication’, ‘_instability of all human greatness’, ‘_patterns of virtue’ are not the language of an illiterate man, nor is the elevated and somewhat mock-heroic tone likely to come from Cash. For the most part, the passage is an account of a supposed conversation between Cash, Kavanagh and Jones on the subject of marriage. Jones, ‘_whose views were always in favour of polygamy’, dreams of Salt Lake City ‘_teeming with milk and honey and...a surplus of beautiful women’. Kavanagh ‘_expresses the more humble opinion’ that he would prefer to remain on the island, being ‘_determined to hold his share in the sovereignty while he could find good and loyal subjects who were able...to contribute to the maintenance of his dignity’. Fantasy continues with Cash’s illustration of life’s lack of certainty by alluding to Louis the Eighteenth ‘_who in the midst of seeming popularity...was obliged...to save himself from his infuriated subjects’. Although the

²⁸ Presumably this is a reference to the *Addenda*.

omitted passage reveals nothing substantial of the adventure of Cash, it illustrates the yearnings of men in a state of anomie.

Folio 223

The manuscript now returns to the Cash adventure with the stickup of Mr Thompson's establishment, during which they 'soon replenished' their 'wardrobe'. Why the remainder of this incident was cut is puzzling as the material is cogent to the incident. The deletion continues with the gang's distribution of grog 'rather freely among Mr Thompson's men', followed by Cash's decision not to take 'a silver cup worth forty pounds' as it was a prize; however, the gang did 'lay hands on a considerable amount of money in addition to a good stock of necessaries'. The most plausible reason for this omission was to strike out Cash's dubious claim to be a man of noble principles. However, the editorial decision leaves the Thompson episode seemingly incomplete.

Folio 225

The story proceeds to the aborted robbery of Captain Clarke's premises, during which Cash again promotes himself as a man of honour by deciding to abandon the robbery because Captain Clarke had 'behaved so generously' on a previous occasion. In this instance, after the servant had given the alarm and the gang captured, Captain Clark offered to act on Cash's behalf and was instrumental in the gang's possible acquittal when brought before the magistrate by Mr Pitt. Why Cash's self promotion was not omitted in this instance is just as mysterious as the omission of Cash's obliging return of the silver cup. There can be little doubt about the reason for excluding the tangential story that followed: the side issue of the reward given by Captain Clarke to a female servant and her consequent good fortune are extraneous to a tale of adventure.²⁹

Folios 234 & 235

The manuscript turns to an interlude in which Cash, Kavanagh and Jones take time off from their adventures by shooting at 'live targets' (crows). Evidently, the editor

²⁹ The servant gave the alarm.

considered this worthy of inclusion because of its pertinence to the life of bushrangers; however, when Cash declares I never adopted measures without consulting my comrades' although they in some sort gave me command' and the journals of the day imputed leadership to me', he characteristically takes the opportunity to assert moral superiority. Of course, Cash's claim that I have certainly enforced my opinions...if any of my mates were about to do a thoughtless action' is very probably true to his character but it is minimally relevant to the story, therefore the omission.

Folios 243-245

The decision to omit this section may have been three fold: the protection of Victorian sensitivities, an unnecessary diversion to bushranger Ben Hall and a comparison of circumstances in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Cash claims the reason for the gang's return to Dromedary Park was to allow Jones an opportunity to carry out his amour with his mistress, Bridget B—n', an undoubtedly scandalous circumstance for a refined readership. Cash proceeds to explain why the gang was obliged to relinquish the three fine bred horses' by comparing the difficulties of a life on the run in New South Wales and Tasmania: Ben Hall and his mates had a wider field wherein to exercise their profession...but here we could not keep to the open country' because the terrain was too rugged and the area was too thickly populated'. Having completely dispensed with these difficulties, the Cash adventure continues with a period of rest and recreation at Cobb's Hill.

Folios 246–250

The omission of Folios 246–248 was the 1880 editor's, whereas Folios 249 and 250 were heavily crossed out by Burke. It can be expected, therefore, that the reasons for the omissions differ. The scene has returned to Cobb's Hill and a period of respite at the B—n's. At this point, Cash and gang have access to journals in which they read of the strenuous exertions the government was making to effect [*sic*] our capture, offering a large reward of money ...' This leads Cash to consider whether Mrs B—n might be tempted to turn them in, but he concludes that she was deterred more from fear than by principle...as she well knew...she would have to leave the Colony'. In this instance, the

editor probably felt Cash's mistrust of Mrs B—n was important information, as was the alert of a reward.

The omission begins with old Kriegan Hill arriving to play his fiddle for the Cash gang and the B—n family. He was popularly known as Vinegar Hill in honour of the Battle of Vinegar Hill of 1798. He recollects in song and music the troubles, the burning of 'Wild Goose Lodge' and Scullobogue Barn and the carrying of 'the colours' to Vinegar Hill, all of which would seem (especially to an English mind) entirely extraneous. The scene shifts to Mrs B—n's story of the visit by 'some persons...with a subscription list in aid of the widow of district Constable Ward' who had been murdered by two escapees, Jeffs and Conway.³⁰ This gives an opportunity for some humour, with Mrs B—n laughing 'at the idea of them coming to her place on such an errand' and the gang's regret that they did not have the opportunity 'to contribute towards the maintenance of the widow'. More information, which undoubtedly fed Cash's feelings of superiority, is revealed in the *Review*, stating 'that me and my mates had expressed a determination in going in pursuit of the murderers of Ward', with Cash concluding that 'we were the last persons in the Island to bring the perpetrators to justice' and that 'if I may now speak the truth I would rather protect them than bring them to justice'. The passage proceeds with Mrs B—n's information that 'she had seen my companion [Eliza] in the street'. Cash's belief was that she was 'discharged by proclamation' by 'the imbecile of a governor' in the expectation 'they would come by knowledge of my haunts and thereby capture me'.³¹ How valuable this passage is to historiography is problematic; however, obviously the editor of the published version considered it unnecessary for his purposes.

Why Burke crossed out Folios 249 and 250 is very obvious as much of the passage repeats material already given in the three preceding folios. The reader has already been informed of Mrs B—n's sighting of Eliza; in fact, much of this is repeated verbatim. The remainder recounts an event in which Mr B—n 'laid hold of my piece,' provoking Cash's angry response with 'I commanded him to put it down immediately and cautioned

³⁰ Jeffs & Conway, <http://www.fingalvalleyhistory.com/Avoca.htm>, accessed 6 November 2010.

³¹ Eliza had been charged for possession of stolen goods.

him...never to take such liberty again'.³² Undoubtedly, this incident exacerbated the rift that was already developing between Cash and the B—n's. A word for word repetition of this encounter immediately follows. It is clear Burke reviewed his work and realized his error.

Folios 259 & 260

This omission is an extension of a humorous episode in which the gang tricks a party of seven soldiers and three constables by luring them to inadvertently exchange places, leaving them trapped inside a hut and surrounded by the three hunted escapees. The omitted passage gives Cash a chance to show his compassion by claiming the gang's purpose was not to harm their pursuers but to put a stop to 'any future boasting'. The focus then shifts to the *Advertiser* and a letter to the editor from 'Constable Cresswell who commanded the party' which 'wilfully misrepresented the whole affair' and, Cash claims, is entirely untrue. The folio ends mid sentence.

The Long Poem: *Come all ye sons...*

This poem is found between Folios 260 and 261. As the pages are not numbered, it appears the poem was inserted as an afterthought and, therefore, has little bearing on the Cash story. There can be little doubt about the editor's decision to omit this poem because of its extreme heroics and elevation of Cash.

Folios 261 & 262

Folio 261 gives further evidence of the long poem's insertion as it completes the above unfinished sentence and, as Cash states, 'picks up the thread of my narrative'. The passage is a mock heroic continuation of the story, with Cash boldly walking up to the hut to retrieve knapsacks and to leave a bottle of brandy for Smith (the occupier of the hut) and his mates. The passage continues in a sombre note with the three bushrangers headed towards the Western Tiers and fully aware of their dangerous situation. Cash depicts Jones as particularly morose, abruptly observing 'that should he ever be taken alive he would avail himself of the Rvd Mr Therry' and that it was 'both possible and

³² The gang kept their arms behind the bedroom door, undoubtedly loaded.

probable that in some of our encounters with our enemies one or all of us might be wounded in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of escape ...'. Jones' 'gloomy notions' foretell his later fate and certainly illustrate the mood of hunted escapees. The published version then picks up with another adventure: the story of the shepherd's hut. It seems the editor removed material not cogent to the bushranging tale and also Cash's aggrandisement of himself as bold and fearless.

Folios 268 & 269

The omitted passage is Cash's reflections after a narrow escape from seven constables wherein the three fugitives are holed up a tree and Cash, laying 'his finger on the wrong trigger', misses his target. Cash's cockiness and mockery of 'our verry daring pursuers' silently retreating 'leaving us to conduct our adventure without further interruption' are certainly cogent to an action story; however, Cash's reflections were apparently deemed by the editor to be inappropriate for his purposes.

Folios 271 & 272

Folio 271 takes the Cash adventure to Epping Forest and the gang's stickup of a stage coach bound for Launceston. The amusing incident whereby the aristocratic Mr Jacobs is made to look like a fool when Jones took his hat 'and placed it on his own head' gives a light touch to the Cash adventure, while Cash's depiction of himself as a proper gentleman through his courteous code of ethics when, on 'understanding her to be a widow, I declined to take anything from her', feeds into the legend of Cash.

The omitted passage refers to 'the account of this affair (the stickup) given by the *Advertiser*', which Cash refutes as inaccurate. He also refutes Mrs Cox's observation that 'you really look more frightened than us [*sic*]' and that 'Kavanagh had presented his piece at Mr Hewitt and Mr Darke'. This omission follows a pattern that has become characteristic of *Fresh Adventures*: the exclusion of diversions to newspaper accounts. The reason for omitting Cash's assertion that 'it was for this robbery that my mate Kavanagh was tried and sentenced to death' is not as straightforward as it has a bearing

on Kavanagh's fate and thus to the story of adventure. Presumably, because it was part of Cash's refutation, his assertion was dispensed with.

Folios 283 & 284

The scene has returned to the B—n's where Cash and Jones have sought refuge following Kavanagh's surrender. The feeling of unease felt by the two absconders comes from two directions: fear that _Kavanagh would inform the authorities of our visits to Cobb's Hill' and Cash's growing distrust of Mrs B—n. The omitted passage diverts to Mrs B—n's _widowee [*sic*] sister who on one occasion visited the house' and Cash's and Jones' visit to Mr B—n's father at Crooked Billet, both of which diversions have little connection with the adventure. Also, Cash's musings have little relevance:

There are some who have a presentiment of evil but as I am not acquainted with metaphysics to analyse the intricacies of the human mind, I can only state that having utmost confidence in myself, I still felt a foreboding of evil...and I may as well observe that Mrs B—n often intruded on my thoughts when in my gloomy reveries...

Having dispensed with Cash's musing, the story then proceeds to fresh adventures and the attack on Mr Clark's.

Folios 293 & 294

Following the stickup of the mail coach at Spring Hill, Cash and Jones have returned to Cobbs Hill with a booty of forty pounds and a gold watch.³³ The omitted passage diverts to Miss Ann B—n's disclosure to the engineer of the ferry to New Norfolk that _Cash and his mates had frequented the house of her sister-in-law at the Dromedary', who extracts a promise from Miss B—n that she would _never mention the circumstance to any person else'. Cash continues: _I merely mention the circumstance to show the general feeling entertained by the public towards us'. The decision to omit this section loses an example of lower class solidarity; however, it is obvious the editor remained true to his mission.

³³ In 1840 money was worth 51 times the value of today's money. The hold up of Mrs Cox was very lucrative, <http://www.xe.com/>, accessed 20 January 2011.

The purpose and tone of this chapter are significantly different from all other chapters in the book. As the title suggests, it is the story of three runaways in the bush who robbed, found refuge, partied, evaded, tricked, and felt fear, triumph, satisfaction, suspicion and betrayal, all of which are ingredients of adventure. Unlike *Port Arthur*, there is no penitentiary, chain gang, lash and, unlike *Norfolk Island*, there is no need to protect Price or to mute the callous treatment of prisoners and the excesses and consequences of a harsh system of incarceration. As the entire chapter focuses on events in Van Diemen's Land, there are no 'greener pastures' or long uneventful periods as in *New South Wales*; on the contrary, even during times of respite there is the feeling of anticipation and suspense. Unlike *Early Days*, the chapter is not significantly repetitious and, for the most part, retains its focus on events and action. With these observations in mind, there should be little surprise that the pattern of omissions has changed, being, for the most part, restricted to brief refutations of newspaper reports, allusions to events in Ireland and Cash's reflective musings. In short, the omissions are fired by the need for brevity not the urge to protect.

The need for brevity and the telling of a tale of action is probably the editor's reasons for omitting passages referring to relationships within the lower classes (Folios 193 & 194, 201 & 202, 203-204, 293 & 294). It is possible that the rationale was also to eliminate Cash's somewhat exaggerated opinion of his superiority (Folios 261 & 262). There is also the concern to protect the elite (Folios 271 & 272). The necessity to remain focused is apparent in all excluded passages (Folios 199, 261 & 262, 268 & 269, 271 & 272, 283 & 284, 293 & 294).

Chapter 7/8: *The Capture*

Total Words: 7,095

Omitted Words: 936

Percentage of Omissions: 13.2

Of a manuscript total of 7,095 words, 936 words were deleted. This represents a relatively small number of omissions when compared with the severe editing of some other chapters. Given the title *Capture*, it is to be expected that the editor's blue pencil

was not particularly active as the events certainly suit the purpose of the second edition. Love betrayed, intended murder, ambush, flight, pursuit, mortal wounding and capture are certainly perfect ingredients for an adventure tale. Add to this arrest, incarceration, trial for murder, sentence of death and vivisection, plea for mercy, reprieve and transportation to a dreaded penal colony in the Pacific Ocean and the requirements for a good action story are fulfilled; therefore it should be no surprise that the omissions in *Capture* are short and very little different from normal editing.

Folio 306

This omission is set on the first day of Cash's trial which already has the atmosphere of commotion and suspense. The omission consists of a single sentence: 'It will not be necessary for me to recapitulate what took place at my trial as it is given in detail in the latter part of this work'. The latter part of the book refers to the *Addenda* which was not included in the 1880 edition, thus making the sentence redundant.

Folio 311

The scene is a visit by Mr Gellibrand to Cash's cell. The omission is one hundred and eighteen words in length and deletes Mr Gellibrand's 'intention to see me (Cash) whenever he came to town ...'. The deletion also includes Cash's assertion that 'scarcely a day passed without receiving a number of visitors' and that 'provisions and groceries were sent in such abundance'. As scenes of Cash's popularity occur elsewhere, the loss of this passage is not particularly significant.

Folio 316

Once again the omission is short. It pertains to Cash's recapitulation of the circumstances of Jones' capture because of Mrs B—n's betrayal. The short omitted passage tells of Jones' previous narrow escape and adds very little to the adventure or to historical information.

Folio 317

This short omission occurs during Jones' preparation for execution when he is visited by Rev Mr Therry who christened and baptised him in the Catholic faith. Excluded is Cash's recollection of Jones' previous intention to reaffirm his religious beliefs during _the affair at the Salt Pan'. At the Salt Pan Cash and gang were surrounded by constables whilst the gang was visiting Smith. The ensuing fight developed into a humorous incident in which Cash and gang forced the constables into the hut and now the constables were surrounded by Cash and gang. Obviously, this is simply another example of the editor's blue pencil at work in taking out unnecessary material.

Folio 319

The scene now takes place post-Jones' execution. Cash has already revealed that Jones gave his ring to his attendant. The omission involves a visit _by one of the Javelin men' who expresses surprise that the ring was not given to Cash instead of a stranger. Clearly, the deletion of this short passage has little effect on the adventure story and even less on historiography.

Folio 320

Because this omission pertains to Cash's _respite' at the instigation of the _new Governor Sir Eardley Wilmot', the expectation is probably that important information has been lost. This is not the case, however, as the passage is more Cash's private eulogy of gratitude for _snatching me from a premature grave in the midst of my sins and wickedness'.

It is apparent that the above deletions are a useful addition to social history, but they are not particularly relevant to either the adventure and it is apparent that the editor's concern was to eliminate extraneous material (Folios 306, 311, 316, 317, 319, 320). An element of self aggrandisement may have been an additional reason for the omission in Folio 311.

Chapter 9: *Norfolk Island***Total Words: 15,274****Omitted words: 4,800**

Percentage of Omissions: 31

The percentage of omissions in Chapter 9 is exceeded only by the forty percent of omissions in the final chapter. The manuscript version of *Norfolk Island* totals 15,274 words of which 4,800 were omitted.³⁴ Only extensive omissions will be examined closely. An extended presentation of all omitted words and passages in the Norfolk Island chapter as found in the second (1880) edition and the following eleven editions is found in Appendix 10 (Omissions in Cash Narrative from Norfolk Island Period). They comprise what is referred to as the book within the book.

Folios 327 & 328

This section deals with Major Childs, Commandant of Norfolk Island at the time. Cash has already introduced Childs in Folio 326, describing him as a perfect gentleman in manner and principle whose only fault was a laxity of discipline, permitting them [the prisoners] to act as they pleased. The deleted section clarifies Cash's meaning with this state of things gave rise to abominations which converted the Island into a state far worse than Sodom and Gomorrah. Phrases such as fearful practices and depth of iniquity and immorality are thinly veiled allusions to homosexuality, an idea abhorrent to Victorian mores. However, the 1880 editor saw fit to conceal this reference entirely by simply erasing it. Cash continues to protect Childs with reference to that incarnate fiend, John Price under whose rule the crime [homosexuality] was carried out to a much greater extent, a passage omitted to possibly protect the reputation of Price and the system as well as delicate sensitivities. The readership is further protected from the abhorrent with the exclusion of a mostrevolting murder in which two escaped prisoners were observed killing a sheep, thereafter murdering a constable and placing a portion of the dead sheep in his bowels. This tale illustrates the viciousness that had developed on the Island and, by the editor's removal of this section, an insider's first-hand view of the penal system on Norfolk Island is lost.

³⁴ Burke's crossed out passages and bracketed words have made it difficult to determine the exact number of omitted words in this chapter.

Folios 329 & 330

This section returns to Commandant Price with the intent of highlighting the fairness of Major Childs and the viciousness of Price. Under Price the greater the villain the more he got in favour' but a man who he considered had a desire to behave himself was dealt with harshly'; further, Cash claims that Price encouraged the most unprincipled of his constables' to arrest an innocent man. This section proceeds to the arrival of the *Hydrabad* with its cargo of two hundred prisoners and an incident of murder in which Mr Brown being struck with the steer oar was knocked overboard and never seen after'. The manuscript moves on to another incident wherein three...prisoners took it into their heads to rob the Coxswain's quarters', but Cash seems to protect them by claiming they were driven by starvation and tyranny to the Commission of offences'; however, he also claims they had no excuse to offer' as they had the facility in providing themselves with plenty of vegetables'. Again, the 1880 editor seems to be hiding the degeneracy of the penal settlement under Price.

Folios 331–335

This long omission is of special interest as it is crossed out in the manuscript. Whether the decision was Burke's or Cash's is not clear and this passage merits close examination in order to uncover the reason for this exclusion.

The deletion returns to Cash's upbringing with reference to my father, who in pursuit of his own pleasures did not interest himself much' and who left the education of myself and a younger brother solely in the care of my mother who never contradicted anything'. Cash continues to reveal more about his family: My mother...began to evince symptoms of ill health, but this did not deter my father from indulging in his usual round of dissipation'. Again Cash refers to his enlistment in the 8th Hussars. It would seem that this section was crossed out by Burke for reason of its repetition, or perhaps at the request of Cash because it gave information he considered private. In fact, the truth of Cash's claims is highly doubtful.

Cash proceeds to speak of the fleecing of prisoners of ‘all superfluities in the shape of shirts, handkerchiefs, flannel shirts, stockings’ where these ‘found a ready sale...in the military barracks ...’ This occurred on the prisoners’ arrival. Cash also observes the increasing number of deaths on the island, particularly among ‘all new hands’. This, he says, was due to dysentery, the reason being ‘eating too freely of the fruit which grew abundantly on the island’. Having detailed the types of fruit to be found, Cash turns to the venomous reptiles ‘which overran it ...and who exercised their deadly influence upon all who came in contact with them’. Having painted such a bleak picture, Cash expresses the opinion that Norfolk Island was deliberately selected as a penal settlement out of a ‘Spirit of Vindictiveness and with a view to crushing the hearts of those unfortunate wretches who left themselves open to the amenities of the law ...’ The satire in this is obvious. Why Cash or Burke decided to delete this description, especially as it must have been their intention to condemn the penal settlement as much as possible, can only be conjectured; however, the words ‘but to resume to my narrative’ bring an end to what Burke must have considered an unnecessary diversion and the narrative proceeds to Cash’s situation which he describes as being relatively comfortable as the straw hats he made were in such demand that ‘I could not fulfil the numerous orders’, thus enabling him to ‘provide the mess to which I belonged with an abundance of tea, sugar and provisions ...’

Why Cash or Burke decided to erase the passage concerning Kavanagh is another mystery. Perhaps it was because of the unsavoury description of Kavanagh who, Cash claims, appeared to ‘side with the delinquents’ and who ‘appeared to assume a tone of superiority ...’ Despite Cash’s remonstrations and his avowal that Kavanagh still had a chance to ‘get back into society’, this was rebuked by Kavanagh and led to a near-permanent rupture between the two men.

There are a number of possible reasons for the decision to cut four complete folios. The first section on Cash’s childhood is fairly clear-cut as it had already been dealt with at the beginning of the manuscript. The decision to exclude conditions on the island is not so easily answered, but as this section places Cash in more favourable circumstances in

comparison with other prisoners, perhaps Cash had second thoughts on separating himself from the other ‘unfortunate wretches’. Eliminating the rift between himself and Kavanagh may have been out of some sort of loyalty Cash felt towards Kavanagh or, again, because Cash did not wish to present himself as a type of traitor. In any case, it is important to remember that these decisions were Cash’s and/or Burke’s, not the 1880 editor’s. Folios 331-335 have not been categorized as the decision to cross them out was not the 1880 editor’s.

Folios 346 & 347

Two lines have been deleted near the beginning of Folio 346 which tell of the arrival of Mr Burgess, the Chief Magistrate, for ‘the purpose of adjudging one or two crimes that shall be nameless’. This omission is obviously a further example of the 1880 editor’s belief that a respectable readership should be protected from any possible allusion to homosexuality. The passage that follows tells the story of eighteen-year-old Jimmy Harrison who, with a party of others, attempted to escape the island, the result being for Jimmy ‘three years in heavy chains in gaol every third month of which was to be in solitary confinement’. Like many other passages, the omission evaded criticism of the penal system under the rule of Price.

Folio 363

Folio 362 has just informed the reader that the making of hats had been taken up by other prisoners and that Cash had been returned to the stone heap, which was considered ‘light labour’. Cash tells us that ‘my leisure hours were employed when in my cell in platting and making hats’. The omitted section in Folio 363 tells us of the tyrant’s (Price’s) visit ‘with the intention of catching me platting on the Sabbath’, which happened to be Easter Sunday. Cash quickly hid the evidence under the bed where, apparently, Price did not look. Cash takes this opportunity for a touch of satire with ‘had he been as fly as he imagined himself to be he could have accomplished his purpose by examining the end of the sennot(?) which he would have found wet and this would have been sufficient proof

that I had been at work'. It is likely that Cash's mockery of Price was the major reason for the omission.

Folio 367

This folio follows the story of Thomas Williams, a particularly stubborn individual who refused to take the oath for which Price sentenced him to fourteen days in solitary confinement. Upon his repeated refusals to swear, Williams was sentenced to a succession of fourteen days in solitary. Cash tells us that _the last sentence having expired, the man was found in a dying state ...'. The opening line signals a diversion with the words _it will here be necessary to observe', a sign that may have been taken up by the editor. The omission is a repetition of the Westwood story, but it also takes the opportunity to highlight Price's determination to manipulate the rule that _convict officials in meting out their period of solitary confinement are restricted by medical authority from passing a sentence longer than thirty days'. Perhaps the editor was also masking Price's contempt of the law.

Folios 376-381

The first approximately thirty lines of this passage reflect rumours which flourished at the time concerning whether or not the Norfolk Island penal settlement was about to close; indeed, debate concerning the cessation of transportation was underway in England at the time. The _very large number [who were] forwarded to Hobart Town' suggests that closure was in its early stages. Cash observes that Price was still determined to delay abandonment by selecting those to stay on as constables. Cash's claim that he _always rejoiced on seeing unfortunate prisoners leave this abode of wretchedness earnestly hoping that the time would arrive that it would be my turn' indicates Cash's bleak state of mind, but he also takes the opportunity to promote himself as someone who puts others before himself, which may or may not have been true. Cash is aware that _the slightest mistake would place me again in the gaol gang where I might have to remain like so many of my fellow prisoners'. To emphasize his point, Cash states that prisoners _instead of lessening the term of their bondage were daily increasing it by receiving fresh sentences for the most trivial offence', claiming that in Price's time many prisoners on

short sentences _never returned until the establishment was broken up...some ten or twelve others (had) as much as twenty years of a sentence yet to perform ...‘.’ The story of Pine Tree Jack, who, from the vantage of a tree, spied upon work gangs serves as an example: _On the occasion in question he [Pine Tree Jack] took a prisoner named Stephen Sutton to the office and charged him with having a chew of tobacco in his mouth‘. Despite Sutton’s denials, Price sentenced him to _fifty lashes and nine months addition‘.

Cash continues with _as I have introduced Pine Tree Jack I will mention another adventure‘, indicating a continuation of the diversion. Sarcasm continues. Pine Tree Jack is _a man of infinite resources and worthy to fill the important office of constable under that verry important and far seeing personage, John Price‘. Pine Tree was a man of cunning who was at the bid of Price. He developed a method of catching convicts stealing forbidden tobacco by means of a long black thread which was tied to hidden tobacco pouches he had discovered. The story of the black thread is undoubtedly extraneous to the Cash adventure, but it is not extraneous to the recollections of an insider. Cash’s humour is not funny; it is revenge. Taking hold of the thread, Pine Tree Jack _is like an angler at a brook looking for the dip of a cork‘ until _the jerk of the thread apprised him that the time for action had arrived‘. Feigned humour becomes bitterness with _Pine Tree Jack’s artifices and contrivances...would fill a volume as he appeared to live for no other purpose but that of getting prisoners flogged and placed in solitary confinement‘. Cash makes it clear that Pine Tree Jack was a newly arrived probationer who preyed on others to curry favour with Price, but when put on pay _he relaxed wonderfully in his vigilance‘.

Cash’s recollections shift to _one of the cruelest acts...that even that tyrannical ruler committed‘. The incident involves an altercation between two wives which was reported to Price and, accordingly, Mrs Stewart _was sent off the island at the earliest conveyance‘ leaving _a young family among which was a girl some twelve months old‘. According to Cash’s story, the complainant was _highly reprehensible, it being notorious that she lived in a state of adultery with Pine Tree Jack‘; however, Pine Tree Jack's *de facto* was ultimately murdered by her husband in Hobart. There is a humorous touch to this story,

but with the focus returning to Price's 'secret dislike...toward the good and the virtuous' and his preference for 'the most treacherous and unprincipled villains', the mood becomes sardonic. The passage ends with bitter scorn: 'a man possessing such a comprehensive knowledge of the world as Mr Price gave himself the credit of must be aware that truth could not be expected to come from the lips of such a double dyed ruffian' (presumably Pine Tree Jack). Of course Cash exaggerated, but the passage scorns Price; hence the decision to omit was probably to defend an officer of the Crown.

Folios 385 & 386

The 1880 version ends Chapter 9 with Cash's account of an incident in the platters' shop wherein he was charged with 'neglect of duty' for allowing prisoners to talk and for which he was sentenced to nine months in irons. During this period of punishment, Cash rescued a constable 'who appeared to be in bad health' from a severe beating at the hands of 'a very notorious character' in spite of calls from a number of prisoners 'to let Irwin settle him'. The closing words depicting Cash's heroism are fitting for an adventure story:

The Chief Constable and a strong party of police had now arrived on the scene and the Constable declared in the presence of them all that had it not been for my interference Irwin would have killed him.

The omitted Folios continue the theme of heroism with Cash's words of self praise, claiming to have exposed himself 'to the enmity of the most disaffected of my class', and perhaps there is a touch of false modesty when he says 'I had done nothing than what any other man should do'. The main reason for the exclusion of this section was very likely because of its repetition; however, the subsequent twenty-four lines end the manuscript version of Chapter 9 with further criticism of Price's vindictiveness. Cash tells us that, in spite of having saved a constable, 'I did not even get my irons knocked off' and 'had it been any other prisoner on the island he would have been given a ticket-of-leave and removed off the island by the next vessel'. The theme of persecution continues with Cash's assertion that Price's motive was revenge for being 'balked in his intention to

persecute me by the talisman words of the doctor: permanent light labour'. The scene now shifts to the platters' workshop and the thinly-masked theme of homosexuality. In this case, a veil is drawn over the acts of which daily and may I say hourly took place, but...I dare not describe'. The theme continues with reference to the blanket screen behind which acts had been committed which for the sake of common humanity shall rest in oblivion'. Once more there is an element of self-congratulation in Cash's statement that he would decline to prosecute them, my sole object being to put a stop to practices which evoked the vengeance of heaven'. The final sentence is Cash's protection of the men by evading Price's request for an opinion, to which Cash answers I...do not believe it [the blanket] was placed there for any good motive'.

Commandant Price is a major character in Chapter 9 and is dealt with in very uncomplimentary terms; therefore, the high percentage of omissions should not be surprising as the aim was probably to protect Price (Folios 327 & 328, 329 & 330, 346 & 347, 363, 367, 376-381, 385-386) by muting his excessively harsh and unfair treatment of prisoners. In addition, references to homosexuality are considerable necessitating the protection of Victorian sensibilities (Folios, 327, & 328, 346 & 347, 385 & 386). Although the editor was obviously protecting the niceties of society, it should be expected that such acts occurred in an all-male prison by men under very long sentences and with very little hope of release (Folio 327 & 328, 329 & 330, 367, 376-381, 385 & 386). Self-aggrandisement features (Folios 376 -381, 385 & 386). Whilst there are probably exaggerations, this chapter has the ring of truth which is lost in the 1880 and subsequent editions. It is apparent that the omissions in this chapter take on a different hue as the need to protect a polite readership from unsavoury material arises, hence the exclusion of homosexual relations between prisoners. Additionally, the scene has shifted to the notorious Norfolk Island and Price which accounts for passages eliminating Price's cruelty in the treatment of prisoners. Folios 385 & 386 seem to have been excluded because of repetition and hence the need for brevity.

Chapter 10: *Liberty Restored*

Total Words: 5,605

Omitted Words: 2,292

Percentage of Omissions: 40

The manuscript version of Chapter 10 totals 5,605 words, making it the shortest chapter; of these, 2,292 words do not appear in the 1880 edition. *Liberty Restored* may be considered as having two parts, the first (Folios 387–405) being the continuation of Cash's Norfolk Island experiences and the second (Folios 405 & 406) being his return to Van Diemen's Land, his mysterious trip to New Zealand and his retirement to a small farm in Glenorchy.³⁵ Of particular interest are the very short conclusion and lack of information concerning Cash's days of freedom; a likely explanation for this seeming anomaly is Cash's and Burke's probable agreement to produce Cash's memoirs of life as a convict, not his life as a relatively free man.

Folio 388

The first omission in Chapter 10 is short, but it is worthy of examination. Preceding the omission, the Rev Mr Rogers is introduced. In this section Cash aims his satire at Price by showing Rogers in contrast with the Commandant. Cash states that 'Mr Rogers was to be the next to come under his [Price's] displeasure but as he did not have the power to subject him to the comfort of the stretcher'³⁶ he was removed to Longridge.³⁷ Further, Cash illustrates Price's treachery in employing 'his [Roger's] prisoner servant' to steal 'some of his [Roger's] private letters...for the perusal of Mr Price', the result being Roger's return to Hobart and 'with him the prisoners lost a friend'.

The reason why the above bleak view of Price was allowed to remain is a mystery, especially in view of the following omission in which Cash becomes philosophical by pondering the action of prisoners, 'the verry men he [Rogers] tried to save from starvation' who 'kept the bread and tobacco which he [Rogers] brought to them and delivered them up to Mr Price'. Cash contemplates the reason for the prisoners' 'teachery and ingratitude' by wondering whether it was 'owing to some peculiarity in

³⁵ Glenorchy is a suburb of Hobart.

³⁶ The stretcher was an implement of severe punishment dating to the Spanish Inquisition. Recalcitrant prisoners were subjected to this form of torture and it was apparently given more uses on Norfolk Island.

³⁷ Longridge was the agricultural arm of the Norfolk Island penal settlement.

their [prisoners'] organisation or other primeval causes'. By omitting the above, the degradation of long-term prisoners under inhumane conditions to a state of abject duplicity is lost.

Folios 389-394

Folios 389-394 provide a further example of editorial rationale: to safeguard Victorian sensitivities, to protect Price and other high officials and to eliminate redundancies. In addition, the intention was probably to 'wind up' *Adventures...* on the basis that enough had already been said about Norfolk Island. For the sake of good order, Folios 389-394 will not be examined according to sequence; instead, the three reasons for omission will be dealt with separately.

Folio 390 is a good example of the need to shield Victorian mores. Among many other crimes, nudity was evidently considered to be obscene and a good reason for being brought before Price. Cash gives 'a prisoner named Dooley' as an example, who, 'charged for sleeping naked in his berth', had the audacity to question the constable 'as to the fact of his being perfectly naked'. Dooley's rapid response to the constable's assertion that 'he had found him [Dooley] as naked as the day he was born' reveals the courage some prisoners had to confront their oppressors: Dooley 'requested to know if the constable thought that he was born with a pair of heavy irons on him'. Unfortunately, Cash's sense of humour is lost in favour of protecting a prudish society from the disgusting mention of nudity.

The theme of moral protection flows into Folios 391 and 392. Price's question 'Well, Martin, how is the round table mob getting on now?' alludes to the homosexual activities of a group of prisoners under Cash's charge in the hatters' shop. This recalls an earlier omission in which a number of prisoners were engaged in 'unmentionable acts' while under Cash's supervision. Cash responds to Price's question with 'all that work was now knocked on the head'. When questioned by Price whether he would order execution for such men, Cash responds with 'I would be verry sorry to order them for executions...I should castrate them'. Once again, an example of the sexual urges of men under

privation has been expunged, thus masking an insight into the penal world of Norfolk Island.

The protection of Price and others in positions of authority features prominently in Folios 389 and 390. The focus is upon the prisoner Lurcher who had been ‘flogged, gagged and imprisoned to...a fearful extent’. In this instance, Lurcher is brought up before Price on ‘the usual charge of having a chew of tobacco in his possession’. Lurcher’s insolent response earns Price’s reward of a soft job in charge of the library and his rapid removal to Hobart Town. Cash says:

Mr Price’s eccentricities while exercising his privileges in this office had been marked by the prisoners...and consequently they were ready upon all occasions to act according to his exigencies...a smart repartee or any witty allusion on the part of the prisoner verily often saved him from severe punishment.

The protection of Price seems to be for two reasons: to hide the extent of his cruelty and to mask the fickleness of his treatment of prisoners; however, the omission of the above passage dispenses with the astuteness of many prisoners in gauging their gaolers to gain an advantage.

Folios 396 & 397

Folios 396 and 397 focus on the newly arrived Dr Hampton who Cash describes as a ‘black hearted, tyrannical scoundrel...who subsequently had to fly the colony to save himself from the sentence of transportation he so justly merited for his wholesale system of fraud and embezzlement’. In comparing Hampton with Price, Cash says that ‘the latter has a decided advantage’, which is faint praise for Price and high condemnation of Hampton. Cash claims that Hampton ‘instituted a system of plunder which never had a parallel...secretly supplying the markets of Hobart Town and Melbourne with vegetables and timber, being the produce of prison labour’. Cash’s condemnation of Hampton deepens with the claim that he set up ‘an extensive farm and dairy at Safety Cove on Tasmans Peninsular [*sic*] and from the produce of which he anticipated a golden harvest’; however, because of Mr Byron Miller’s revelation of Hampton’s ‘refarious transactions...the dairy...together with his extensive timber trade at Port Arthur was

nipped in the bud'. When Cash proceeds to the subject of complicity, the network of corruption widens:

It cannot be imagined that he [Hampton] could have carried out his extensive plans of embezzlement without the cognizance of other convict officials who were his principal agents in the matter.

Cash continues to vent his contempt when he reveals that other convict officials _shided their miscreant heads under the plea of acting in obedience...a plea worthy of a miserable upstart race that advanced it'. Cash's fury escalates:

...a fiend [Hampton] whose heart was steeled against the agonising supplications of the starving mothers inured in the cells of the Cascade factory³⁸ who with children at their breast that was dying for lack of nourishment vainly implored his assistance and they [Hampton's family] now exist in Hobart Town... an eminent physician...publicly denounced him as the murderer of several children in the Cascade factory.

Such damning claims of corruption among the privileged are most likely the major motive for removing this passage. Rumours of this nature may have been endemic and, from what is known of penal cultures of the period, we may assume a degree of truthfulness in Cash's comments.³⁹

Folio 400

The theme of corruption shifts to Chief Constable Bobby Harris who, Cash claims, _...resolved to make hay while the sun shined established a slot shop where the constables could be accommodated with...anything or everything'.⁴⁰ Again Cash's fury escalates when he reveals his own mistreatment at the hands of Bobby Harris who _being vested with full charge...I was taken from the platters' shop and placed on duty in the lumber yard ...causing me to feel Mr Harris' displeasure'. Again, the corruption of those in authority is secreted by the omission.

³⁸ The Cascade factory was a women's prison in Hobart.

³⁹ Prison cultures which I experienced in Canada and the USA were rife with rumours of the corruption of the 'screws' and wardens. Perhaps they were true; perhaps not. However, they were part of the ongoing gossip amongst the inmates and an aspect of inmates' way of thinking.

⁴⁰ An illegal shop which sold contraband goods to constables and privileged convicts.

The omissions in Chapter 10 form an essential part of the 'book within a book'. They tell of corruption and discrimination, themes which are eliminated from the 1880 and following editions. Stories of Dr Hampton and those who were complicit by turning a blind eye to his illegal activities reveal an authoritative class with the power to cheat and extort, seemingly without the notice of their peers. Cash reveals a similar example in the case of convict Constable Harris, a minor official who took his opportunity to take advantage of compromising situations while he could. While these two individuals are a small minority, the natural supposition is that corruption within the opportunistic elite was widely spread, which is possibly true. In contrast, the convict population is portrayed as mistreated and exploited, but not without its own opportunists who took advantage of the foibles and weaknesses of others be they fellow convicts or authorities such as Rogers and Price. Price's outright lubricious treatment of prisoners by favouring some and persecuting others extenuates the theme of the misuse of power and Cash's escalating fury adds powerful emotion. The exclusion of homosexual activities in a forcibly celibate society denies natural instincts.

By restoring the omissions in all ten chapters, much of worth is added to an understanding of colonial New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island. While, given the 1880 editor's lack of concern for the narrative's value to history and his aim to produce a popular adventure story, his decisions are for the most part understandable; however, for the student of history the restoration of the omissions enhances the narrative as a useful source. While some sections of *Early Days* are fanciful embellishments and sometimes outright untrue, the New South Wales section contains insights into the convict class assigned to outback pastoralists. With the focus shifting to Van Diemen's Land, the value of the omissions to an understanding of social history increases. In the Chapter *Van Diemen's Land*, the theme of solidarity versus opportunism in the convict class is introduced; this theme is lost in the 1880 and following editions. In *Port Arthur* this theme deepens and widens to include not only convicts but also those in authority. *Escape Across the Neck*, *The Woolpack*, *Fresh Adventures* and *Capture* continue this theme. Perhaps of most value to an understanding of the time are the omissions in the last two chapters, *Norfolk Island* and *Liberty Restored*, in which the emphasis focuses on the prison community of Norfolk Island. In these chapters, the utmost desperation of those imprisoned, cheated and abused is revealed. Corruption and brutality are endemic and advantages are seized by both prisoners and overseers. Frustrated men incarcerated for long periods risk execution by resorting to practices which, at the time, were considered abhorrent. Cash's 'no holds barred' approach to his depiction of the colonial underclass and the social 'colour' contained within the

omissions are lost in the tale of adventure instigated by the 1880 publication. The restoration of these omissions is an important step in unlocking the book within a book‘.

CHAPTER 6

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS INFLECTING THE NARRATIVE

While some material within the manuscript must be seen as inflecting the narrative, it does not have a direct relationship to the Cash story. For this reason the addition of poetry and the inclusion of tales such as the singeing of hair, the unsubstantiated volcano story or the Aboriginal fishing methods, while appearing to be extraneous to the total Cash story, are cogent in that from Abbott's view they inflect the historical value of the Cash manuscript. To not examine these seemingly unimportant inclusions would mean that background data would be overlooked. Although some of this material may be regarded as not factual and even disproved, much of it provides insights into convict society, the relationships between the convict classes and the authorities who governed their lives. The use of Abbott's hypothesis establishes the importance of these seemingly irrelevant additions in that they give a sense of convict interactions, the treatment of convicts by station owners, the social milieu of the period and the beliefs that developed in an alien environment.

Interruptions exist to a high degree. A characteristic of narrative tales and oral tradition is that as the story is passed on from one person to the other there will be alterations. Some alterations will be purposeful and others inadvertent. Abbott's concept of narrative must be re-emphasised as his concept is essential to the interpretation of this chapter. He said, in part, "...non narrative examples are still narrative...that convey the story..."⁴¹ For the purpose of this chapter inflecting materials, including the *Addenda*, must be viewed as important to the holistic understanding of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. Although the *Addenda* is not part of the narrative, the material contained within it reflects upon Cash's story as the items contained therein pertain to incidents surrounding some of the events. Because items contained within the *Addenda* had been published previous to the completion of the manuscript, it will not be closely examined in this chapter as this is

⁴¹ Abbott, *Narrative Literature*, p. 3.

done in chapter four. However, the question of the *Addenda* inflecting the Cash story will be given some exposition.

Especially, given the likely venue and audience of Cash's tale-telling, it should be expected that additional material would be added. Indeed, the narrative/manuscript contains many ancillary elements. In this chapter, the term 'scribing' is expanded to include the collecting and collation of materials given to or researched by a person from various sources who then recorded the materials, which, in this case, were oral or archival. Some of these materials which were inserted at the time of the narration and before or during the printing of the first edition will be examined. It is impossible to examine all additions and only those materials which have relatively more impact have been used. The insertions have been divided into four categories: *Addenda* Compared, The Poetry, Irish Tales, Campfire Anecdotes and Tall Stories.

There is a period of uncertainty between the completion of the manuscript and the publication of the 1870 edition. The closest time sequence for the narrating, gathering other materials, putting materials into a continuous manuscript, getting ready for printing and, finally, the printing of the work took place sometime between the years 1868 to October of 1870 when *Adventures...* was printed and placed in book stores. The record of events leading to publication has been lost as the charge list was probably one of the casualties of the *Mercury* fire on 25 May 1924 which destroyed the linotype and newspaper sections of the building.⁴²

The period immediately prior to printing the 1870 publication provided an opportunity for decisions to be made: the inclusion of the entire *Addenda*, alterations to grammar and punctuation and, generally speaking, the 'neatening' of the text.⁴³ The *Addenda* was not altered by the editor as the items were faithful copies of extant records.

⁴² Charge list was the book used to record all items about a work which was to be published and during the time of publication.

⁴³ Phrase used in printing which gives the editor freedom to change what he wished. At this point the editor becomes the final gate keeper.

It cannot be known whether the inclusion of the *Addenda* was solely Burke's decision or if it was in collaboration with Cash. At the time the custom was common for publishers to pay by the page and if this was so it can reasonably be expected that the addition was simply to pad the work. The possible payment by drink in lieu has been mentioned; however, a publisher is not likely to have paid in this manner, although the 'Gentlemen' may have contributed to such a scenario given the nature and behaviour of Cash and Burke. The desire to support the story by the inclusion of media and governmental reports at the end of the narrative may have been the reason for the decision to include this material.

Although the *Addenda* belongs to the greater manuscript, it is not part of the Cash narrative. There is nothing in the *Addenda* which could lead to the belief that Burke sought to manipulate Cash's narrative as the entire content of the *Addenda* centres upon Cash with a short element concerning Kavanagh's trial. Given that Burke probably took Cash's narrative to another place, he did not merely write down Cash's words but he also crafted them into a text. The *Addenda*, numbering 28,985 words, is a compilation of letters, records and newspaper accounts of Cash, Kavanagh and Jones. This compilation contains sixty-two separate items on fifty pages. These fifty pages contain articles by journalists and/or letters by settlers. The twelve government reports constitute fifteen pages which, for the most part, constitute the Cash/Kavanagh trials and some interplay between Judge Montagu and court officers. However, it is difficult to quantify the exact number of governmental reports as many journalists were quoting from government papers. The material mentioned above gives a fair sense of the general coverage concerning the bushranging and trial period. For example, the following letter from Mr Shone (c. 28 April 1843) to the editor of *The Review* refers to the general ignorance of both the population and the police. It also mirrors Cash's interpretation of a careless constabulary:

Mr Editor, Much has been said in the public papers about the three bushrangers, Cash and his accomplices, their unlawful depredations, and the inertness of the police, but these people who talk so fluently of guns and pistols, me think have not seen the bush, or at most, when bowling along in their gig, or having a bird's-eye view from the top of the stage coach. I quite agree with you that the police have exerted themselves in much and more than they could be expected from their

limited knowledge of the sequestered haunts of the bushrangers...I beg to submit a very simple arrangement: let each police magistrate be instructed to select a steady, confidential constable with three others, whom he may rely upon in time of need to act under his command armed with carbine, bayonet, and a brace of pistols; let it be impressed upon them not long shot practice; let them range their respective districts for twelve months, at the expiration of which, besides the usual rewards for the apprehension of absconders, that they receive a free conditional pardon.⁴⁴

The above quote supports Cash's contention and proceeds to suggest a solution to the dilemma in apprehending bushrangers. This buttresses Cash's somewhat satirical view of the police and military. A thorough examination of the *Addenda* presents some conundrums as this large document contains many subtleties involving people of high rank, governmental superintendents, those of lesser rank and some police or military observers who would have had to be careful in their observations.

The *Addenda* was not narrated by Cash in any way although it contains important verification to many of his tales and most certainly the trial of Cash and Kavanagh. In the Abbott sense of inflecting material, the *Addenda* should be seen as part of the narrative as it inflects the full narrative/manuscript. The fact that Burke transcribed so much contemporary reporting from 1843 suggests that he felt the need to corroborate Cash's account by reference to other sources. The *Addenda* and the narrative have been separated and remain so throughout this thesis because, although complimentary to it the *Addenda* does not come from Cash.

The *Addenda* must be given a succinct examination. The salient features are: 1. The entire *Addenda* is written in Burke's handwriting. 2. The information was copied from newspapers, letters and government records which were in Burke's hands before the time of the publication of 1870. 3. By his claim, Burke was a trained articles clerk in Ireland and understood how to source information. 4. Some of the information in the *Addenda* is very similar to the Cash narrative. 5. None of these items, although similar to the Cash narrative, are identical except the one letter Jones sent to Lt Governor Franklin. 6. This lack of identical copy bears out that the narrative and the *Addenda* are separate

⁴⁴ *Addenda*, 'To the Editor of the *Review*', p.23.

documents. 7. The *Addenda* contents take place in the year 1843. 8. The *Addenda* validates Cash's accuracy in time, place, people and events.

To what extent Cash and Burke collaborated is open to question; however, circumstantial evidence such as mutual ethnicity, convict experience, a love of alcohol and a defiant attitude towards authority suggests that Burke and Cash's shared experiences may have influenced Burke in that he did have some role in the narrative beyond that of scribe. Given that Cash could not read, Burke was free to elaborate and embellish although he may have also felt accountable because Cash was likely to hear the published account read to him. Also mentioned previously but cogent to this argument is that there is no record in the narrative/manuscript which indicates any antagonisms between Burke and Cash.

Upon first examination of the *Addenda* it did not appear necessary to examine this addition for two reasons: first, it was not narrated by Cash and, second, it had already been published in other organs. However, Abbott has brought new life into the narrative study by his re-defining of the elements of narrative. The 28,985 words of the *Addenda* are written in the same careful copperplate writing as the body of the narrative and the letter from the Brickfields. The items included refer to Cash, Kavanagh and Jones' escape from Port Arthur, the Cash and gang's marauding of the countryside, the gang's bushranging exploits with special emphasis upon the robberies of the gentry, the inability of the ineffectual government and military to capture the gang and the capture of Cash, Kavanagh and Jones. Some letters complained about the gang's marauding, while others validated and clarified their exploits and some demanded redress for stolen property. Indeed, the deeds of Cash were well documented by a number of people who saw or knew of their exploits twenty-seven years before Burke scribed Cash's tale. While the *Addenda* contributes little new information to the Cash story, it is an accurate compilation of events surrounding 1843 and can serve as another validation. In Abbott's term the *Addenda* adds to the non-narrative understanding of the narrative and may therefore be considered as part of, or perhaps more accurately, an extension of the narrative.

It cannot be known whether Burke was helped in his collation of materials, nor can it be known how the *Addenda* ended up on Burke's writing desk. Most likely Burke's reasons for adding the *Addenda* are multiple: Cash and/or Burke wished to prove that the Cash narrative was factual as the seminal events of 1843 may not have been known by succeeding generations; the 'Gentlemen' wanted a verification of the adventure tale⁴⁵; a growing movement against capital punishment was on the rise in the United Kingdom and Australia fostered by people such as prison reformer, Jeremiah Bentley. There is also evidence in the *Addenda* that an argument concerning capital punishment was on the agenda of prison reform. The *Addenda* contains material suggesting the growing unease between people towards the issue of the death sentence. It is feasible, therefore, that there was an underlying agenda of government reform.

The following newspaper quote from the *Addenda* is quite typical:

Idem, 21st February.)

Cash, Kavanagh, and Jones have again been heard of in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater. On Saturday, they met Mr Cook in the bush, and took from him a silver Watch and a double-barrelled gun. They detained him until dark, expressing their regret at the inconveniencing him, but excusing themselves on the plea of their own safety. They stated that when they had an opportunity they would visit Mr Forster, the police magistrate at Brighton, and that they had an abundance of provisions and arms concealed in the bush.

In speaking of the attack on the Woolpack, Kavanagh said that he had gone back for a keg of brandy, and that Cash had received a flesh wound from the constables, but was now quite recovered...⁴⁶

In the Criminal Court on the 28th of April 1843, there appears a note in 'Proceedings':

Mrs Cash, apprehended by the Hobart Town constables, committed on the charge of having in her possession certain articles stolen by the bushrangers, identified as the property of Miss Shone, was this day discharged.⁴⁷

This item illustrates in part that the *Addenda* contains some non-essential information cogent to the Cash story. Eliza, by the time she and Martin separated because of the action of the court, becomes a rather solitary and unimportant figure. However, to refer

⁴⁵ Martin Cash, *Preface*, 1870 edn p. i.

⁴⁶ Cash Manuscript, *Addenda*, *Hobart Town Advertiser*, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Cash, *Addenda*, pp. 23 & 24.

to Abbott once again, this very information from another source other than the Cash narrative inflects the narrative and is therefore to be viewed as part of the narrative. As Abbott views such material as part of a valid study of the narrative, the entire *Addenda* may be so viewed.

The *Addenda* continues by reporting that during Cash's trial, held before Mr Justice Montagu and a Civil Jury, the Attorney General remarked:

I thought your Honor [*sic*] said it is not a judicial matter His Honor: It is not a judicial matter, but a ministerial matter. Will you ask the witness any more questions? The Attorney-General: 'No your Honor, nor will I call on any other witnesses after what has passed.'⁴⁸

Illustrating the thrust of ego versus ego, much of the *Addenda* concerning Cash's trial depicts the Colonial Secretary, James Ebenezer Bicheno,⁴⁹ and the Acting Attorney General, Thomas Horne,⁵⁰ at odds with each other:

Sir, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd ultimo, applying for the expenses incurred by you on account of your daughter's attendance as a witness in the case of the Queen v. Cash, and to acquaint you that the Lieut.-governor cannot interfere. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
J.E. Bicheno⁵¹

The following three comparisons from the *Addenda*⁵² and the narrative illustrate Abbott's contention that material additional to the narrative inflect the narrative and are of importance as they derive from other sources. This has impact upon understanding the primary source value of *Adventures*.... During the first six months of 1843, the Cash gang concentrated on robberies of the gentry. A reporter for the *Hobart Town Advertiser* received the following information about a specific robbery:

Idem, 14 March (1843)

On the 18th instant Cash and his companions made a sortie into the Hamilton district, and succeeded in surprising Mr Charles Kerr, of Dunrobin. Two days previous they had made his shepherd prisoner, and kept him with them,

⁴⁸ Cash, *Addenda*, pp. 28 & 29.

⁴⁹ Bicheno, http://www.tco.asn.au/oac/community_history.cgi?oacID=46, accessed 24 November 2010.

⁵⁰ Attorney General, <http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/History/tasparl/mlcs1825to1855.htm>, accessed 24 November 2010.

⁵¹ Cash, *Addenda*, pp. 28 & 29.

⁵² See 'Cash's Recall of Names Places and Events' (Appendix 6).

learning...every particular which could be of use in their intended robbery on his master [Mr Kerr]...who was taken by surprise [and] could offer no resistance....[Cash] marched the whole party up to the house...Kerr requested...[do] not frighten the ladies...Cash, apparently offended, observed, 'you must be aware that we are men who neither offer threats or insult to women or children.'⁵³

The reporter continues by stating that Cash then requested some spirits...enough to recover ladies, one of whom had fainted. Evidently the reporter was impressed with Cash's polite bearing as Mrs Kerr refused to go into a darkened passage upon which Cash allegedly took a candle and lighted her way. The gang then departed, laden with duelling pistols and a quantity of wearing apparel. The reporter ended his article by observing that the character of the robbers was with utmost forbearance and gallantry.

About the same event Cash relates:

The following morning we started pretty early keeping the least frequented part of the bush until we arrived at Dunrobin where we determined to attack the residence of Mr Charles Kerr...we secured two of his shepherds...we all five in number proceeded to the house where I met a young lady... exclaiming, here's the bushrangers and then fainted...the young lady...restored...and [me] telling them not to be alarmed...⁵⁴

Cash continued his narrative showing that the two incidents were indeed the same. He insisted that he never interfered with women or children and ordered Mr Kerr to sit down but first he was to procure materials for Jones to write a letter to Sir John Franklin. Using Abbott's concept of narrative it may be said that what the reporter of the *Advertiser* described was very similar to the Cash story. It was different enough in detail, however, to serve as an illustration of how additional material can sometimes reveal further aspects of the narrative.

Another example of how non-narrative may impinge upon the actual narrative comes from the government report concerning Cash's trial. Much of the government report of proceedings was published in the *Advertiser* and used in the *Addenda* as follows:

⁵³ *Addenda*, 'On the 18th instant...', p. 5.

⁵⁴ Cash, Folio 206.

*The prisoner: As you think proper, your Honor.[sic]

*The Attorney-General, after a short address, in which he explained the law of the case under the colonial Act, proceeded to call his witnesses.

*James Hewitt, Coachman to Mrs Cox, had seen prisoner at the bar before on the 3rd July [1843] in Epping Forest. Mr Darke was with him on the box next to Mr Hewitt...quarter past ten in the morning...three men...armed with guns...They told them not to be afraid...The arms were presented at witness.

*The passengers were: Miss Hilton, Mr Darke, and Mr Jacobs, who, with Mr Cox, were inside.....took seven pounds and watch...money from his pocket.⁵⁵

The government report continues to describe the robbery in detail. Mrs Mary Ann Cox, newly widowed wife of Mr Cox of Clarendon House (near Evandale) corroborated the evidence as a witness to the robbery. She identified Cash as the leader and the other two, all of whom brandished guns at shoulder height which meant they were aiming to shoot. Cash was called upon to say something at the trial. Cash gave a strident speech about how he had been forced to attend a place of Protestant worship while in Port Arthur and compelled to a life of crime in which he had done wrong and for which he was now sorrowful.⁵⁶ He concluded with, '...but as to using violence against an unarmed party, I would not be guilty of so cowardly an act'.⁵⁷

Cash's account of the trial is sparse:

I was handcuffed and conducted from the gaol to the court house, the street being so densely crowded with people who were trying to get a glimpse of me that the Constables and Javelin men had the utmost difficulty in clearing a passage to the court house. It will be unnecessary for me to recapitulate what took place at my trial as it is given in detail in the latter part of this work.⁵⁸ It lasted nearly two days and on being found guilty I was put back for my sentence...addressed by the Judge...'You will be taken from here to your cold miserable cell and there remain until Monday Morning next you will then be taken to the place of execution where you shall be hanged by the neck until you are dead, after which your body will be cut down and delivered over to the surgeon for anatomization.'⁵⁹

The newspapers and government documents record the trial, the interchange between advocates and other salient information whilst Cash records almost none of these.

⁵⁵ *Addenda, Murray's Review*, Hobart, p.44.

⁵⁶ *Hobart Colonial Times*, 12 September 1843, p.3, also found on pages 44-46 in *Addenda*.

⁵⁷ *Addenda*, pp. 45-46.

⁵⁸ It seems apparent from this statement that Cash knew about the *Addenda* and that it was placed at the end of the work.

⁵⁹ Cash, Folios 306-307.

Therefore, it could be said that Cash's narrative, at this point, is not a reliable source because of a lack of elaboration. Indeed, following Abbott's contention, the newspaper reports and the court records constitute a valid part of Cash's account because they come from the participants and advocates of the entire event and may therefore be seen as part of the narrative.

As a third example, 'A SETTLER', who was obviously not enraptured by the Cash gang and their rampages, wrote a long letter to the editor of the *Hobart Advertiser*. In part he said:

I feel...indignant that Cash and his party should range at will through half the colony, although a large body of constable and military at a very heavy expense to the colony are professedly in pursuit of them...that they [Cash gang] are protected by men of their own class...inducement to betray them should therefore be increased...spectacle of large bodies of men, varying from five to twenty, as it has already happened...allowing themselves to be made prisoners of and tied by one armed man...and another house to be plundered.⁶⁰

The letter appears to be from a person of status who was very literate. The content of the letter continues, showing his concern for property and security. His anger is profound.

Obviously amused by the inability of the military as well as the police in capturing his gang, Cash relates the story of the battle at Smith's hut. In this incident Cash and gang were bailed up with the Smiths. They shot their way out of the hut and forced the group of constables to take refuge in the very same hut from which they had just escaped. Now the siege worked the other way. Cash and gang were outside shooting into the hut and the constables were inside defending themselves. Cash relates:

This gentleman on hearing the firing imagined that the party [constables] was [*sic*] shooting us down in the hut... [the constables] returned without bringing us dead or alive he called them a cowardly set of rascals...⁶¹

The next part of the narrative (nineteen lines) is interesting in that the battle at Smith's hut was not included in any edition after 1870. It appears reasonable to assume that the gatekeepers of the *Mercury Steam Press* felt that a story of such abject failure on the part

⁶⁰ *Addenda*, 'To the editor of the *Hobart Town Advertiser*', p.8.

⁶¹ Cash, Folio 259.

of the leaders of the colony should be silenced. The omitting of the incident on the part of the publisher shows protection of the authorities by the wielders of power. That this story concerning police incompetence was silenced illustrates, in Abbott terms, how even silence of a known incident inflects the story.

The Poetry⁶²

Although it was customary to begin chapters with a short poem, this does not occur in the manuscript. However, the 1870 edition adds a short introductory verse to each chapter. Whether this was the editors' choice or an afterthought by Cash and/or Burke is not known. As Burke must have been involved in inserting the long heroic poem he may be seen as launching Cash as a hero. Nevertheless, although Cash is elevated beyond his deserts, the poems bear a loose relationship to events within the chapter and are fully integrated into the narrative. Equally cogent is the revelation of the attitude of men seeking a hero in defiance of their circumstances.

It would be nearly impossible to claim the poems reveal the voice of Cash; however, there is an echo of Cash as the nascent legendary figure of Irish-Australian history and, of course, story-telling is not a unique Irish tradition but part and parcel of all cultures. The poems form two categories: ten short poems and one longer poem, *Come all ye sons of Hibernia's Isle...*, which appears in the manuscript and the first 1870 edition but none of the following twelve editions. Mystery surrounds by whom or why the poems were added to the Cash tale. It is possible they were suggested during the time of the narration by an encouraging and ribald audience and given their folk nature this is especially possible in the case of the ten short poems. These poems are found to be very similar to popular Irish ballads of the time such as those of Felicia Hemans',⁶³ a nineteenth century Irish poet.

Come all ye sons... is of particular interest as it appears in both the 1870 edition and the manuscript, was placed unnumbered between Folios 260 and 261 and was undoubtedly

⁶² See 'The Long Poem' & 'The Ten Short Poems' (Appendices 11 & 12).

⁶³ Felicia Hemans, <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/hemans/biography.html>, accessed 15 January 2011.

written in Burke's hand. As the long poem was not numbered as a folio, it appears that the decision to insert it was Burke's. Due to its length, level of sophistication and inclusion within the manuscript, *Come all ye sons...* must be dealt with as distinct from the shorter poems. To further Abbott's contention that narrative tolerates non-narrative, the poems will be examined in the following order: the introductory poems of the 1870 edition and the longer inserted poem of the manuscript.

The poem introducing Chapter 1 (*Birth and Parentage*) is loosely reminiscent of Cash's voyage to Van Diemen's Land: *I dream of all things free/Of a gallant, gallant bark/That sweeps thro' storm and sea/Like an arrow to its mark.* The inclusion of this poem as introductory to the first chapter, and, thereby to the entire book, immediately thrusts Cash into a fancifully exalted position, thus setting Cash as a legend rather than a real figure. Hyperbolic elements are illustrated in the following two lines: *...Of a stag that o'er the hills/Goes bounding in its glee...'* The use of pastoral imagery and hyperbole reflects the Irish lyric tradition of the nineteenth century and emerges from Felicia Heman's poem *I Dream...'* This lyric embroiders the Cash narrative.

A similarly tenuous connection with the Cash story is illustrated in the poem introducing Chapter 6 (*The Attack Upon Captain Clarke*) with the lines *'Stand! Stand! Is the word all dread to hear/Your gold and your gems resign... '* These lines have a loose connection with the events of the stage coach robbery and the theft of Mrs Cox's possessions which were probably a watch and some cash, not gold and gems'. The extravagance of the allusion and the flamboyant depiction of the incident further the popular view of Cash the heroic gentleman. It is this legendary figure which was to become the image of Cash. Although the author of the poem is unknown, it reflects the Irish genre of the time.

Pastoral imagery and embroidery stamp the poem beginning Chapter 2 (*Tasmania*): *There's music in the laughing sky...There's glory on the mountain top...The flowers spring from their wintry bed...'* Words such as glory', bounding', gladness', spring' suggest action, new beginning and triumph, and, by association, are reflective of Cash as legend. This poem is in the style of Irish rebel song lyrics; also the image of a laughing

sky was popular at the time.⁶⁴ The poem beginning Chapter 4 (*The Escape Through the Neck*) repeats this vein: *Some love to roam on the dark sea foam/Where the wild wind whistles free...* again employing words of action, movement and exuberance. This particular poem is from the pen of Scottish poet, Charles Mackay (1814-1889).⁶⁵

A more sophisticated poem alluding to the Roman god Janus introduces Chapter 3 (*Port Arthur*). This short verse based on Virgil's *Aeneid* (29-19 BCE) reads:

Janus himself, before his fame shall wait,
And keep the dreadful issues of his gate.
With bolts and iron bars, within remain
Imprisoned fury bound in iron chains.⁶⁶

Clearly, as a meaning of 'myth' is the 'story of a god', this pairing of Cash with the divine gives to Cash an aura of myth, a very different presentation to Burke's prosaic depiction of Cash at Port Arthur. Janus was regarded as the god of all beginnings and thus had the ability to look to the past and to the future simultaneously. Janus' traditional placement at gateways and doorways suggests his 'dual vision', and, therefore insinuates Cash as past and present: his escape from the dreaded Port Arthur and his life of freedom as an escapee. In addition to this allusion are vivid images such as 'dreadful issues', 'bolts and iron bars', 'imprisoned fury' which solidify the vision of Cash as hero. It becomes obvious that the person responsible for this inclusion was sophisticated and educated in the classics.

A brief reference to the poem beginning Chapter 8 (*The Capture*) is revealing as this poem bears a similarity to the manuscript's presentation of those in search of Cash as cowardly fools; however, the lines '...Of the coward's heart whose blood should stain/The snow where trophies grim remain...' augment the idea of cowardice far beyond the satirical view employed in the manuscript. Although the manuscript presents Cash as superior to others, he was no 'dead lord' nor was he accompanied by a 'warrior train' in the form of Kavanagh and Jones. Again, the saga of Cash is propelled far beyond its

⁶⁴ Irish lyrics, http://martindardis.com/irish_rebel_songs.html, accessed 16 January 2011.

⁶⁵ Charles Mackay, <http://www.famousquotes.com/author/charles-mackay/>, accessed 16 January 2011.

⁶⁶ Virgil, <http://www.online-literature.com/virgil/aeneid/>, accessed 16 January 2011.

merit. This poem reminds one of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* written to Henry Wriothesley.⁶⁷

It bears repeating that the decision to insert the longer poem into Chapter 8 (*The Capture*) was most likely Burke's; however, its flamboyant style in comparison with Burke's pragmatic prose suggests the poet was not Burke. Burke's decision to insert the long poem into the muted prose of Chapter 8 perpetuated the growing popular view of Cash as heroic Irish rogue. Mystery also surrounds why the long poem was altered in the 1870 edition and by whom. Due to its references to Cash's experiences while in Van Diemen's Land, it is very probable that Burke agreed to write the poem into the manuscript with the intention of embroidering the real events and to elevate Cash as an Irish hero who far outshone Wellington, Montrose and other great achievers in battle. This, of course, is poetic hyperbole as Cash in no way matched such heroes.

The long poem consists of six stanzas followed by a finale and is written in the style of the old rebel Irish song lyrics.⁶⁸ Each stanza ends with the romantic refrain of, 'He is the valiant son of Erin's isle where the sprig of shamrock grows.' The aim of the first stanza is to set Cash as superhero. The remaining stanzas bear a more obvious connection with real events in comparison with the shorter poems. Stanza 2 mimics the events which took place in Campbell Town, Cash's escape from Port Arthur's 'cursed soil' and his escapades as a bushranger where 'the settlers crouch in dread wherever he showed his head'. Stanza 3 illustrates the event at the Woolpack where Martin 'to his piece did cling and three of them did quickly wing'. Stanza 4 relates to the hunt for Cash by the troopers and black trackers wherein Cash 'like a fighting general...faced his daring foe'. A further example of the fictionalization of Cash appears in stanza 5 which alludes to Cash's arrest in Hobart Town wherein the crowd cries 'surrender Martin' to which Cash replies 'never till the day I die'. From these examples it can be seen that, while the poem uses real events as its storyline, the overriding purpose is to present Cash as eminently superior and to embroider the real events, thus thrusting them into the realm of allegory.

⁶⁷ Shakespeare, <http://www.shakespeare-online.com/sonnets/venus.html>, accessed 16 January 2011.

⁶⁸ Rebel Songs, http://martindardis.com/Irish_rebel_songs.html, accessed 16 January 2011.

Despite this elevation of person and events beyond the realm of credibility, according to Abbott's contention the poem has a bearing on Cash's narrative.

To further this analysis it is necessary to compare the long poem as it appears in the narrative/manuscript and as it appears in the 1870 edition. Such an examination reveals that the 1870 edition of *Come all ye sons...* is more sophisticated in style: the lines are longer, the rhythm is more regular and additional material has been added. Interestingly, the first line in the manuscript version reads 'Come all ye sons of Hibernia's Isle ...'. The 1870 edition changes 'Hibernia's Isle' to 'Erin's Isle', the former being the Latin poetic reference to Ireland and the latter a popular romantic name used by poets and Irish nationals. The reason for this change is very probably to accentuate the Irish patriotic vein, reflecting the rise of nationalism in Ireland and the feeling of solidarity among expatriate Irish.

Like the manuscript version, the 1870 rendition alludes to heroes of history, but to Wallace, Montrose and Wellington, Napoleon and Nelson have been added: 'Napoleon by treachery was undone'; Nelson '...for England's glory, bled and fought by sea ...'. The heroic vein of the manuscript version continues to be augmented in the 1870 edition. In the first stanza, 'daring fame' in the manuscript becomes 'matchless fame' in the 1870 edition; similarly 'brave man' becomes 'bravest man'. Other examples of this heroic elevation occur throughout the remaining stanzas of the 1870 publication: On his way to gaol in Campbell Town, the 1870 edition gives Cash as 'hero', not 'brave man'; in the skirmish at the Woolpack, Cash is attacked by 'enemies', not 'constables', but to Cash's defiant words at the Woolpack, the addition of 'or nail you to the floor' elevates Cash's defiance; instead of 'calling on settlers night and day', in 1870 Cash 'robbed' them. At Salt Pan Plains, the manuscript version gives Cash as hailing the constables with 'three cheers while the first shot was their [the constables'] exchange'. In the 1870 rendition Cash 'hailed them loudly and let them have it left and right'. In the manuscript, Cash is a 'fighting general', whereas in 1870 he is a 'fearless general'.

The long poem proceeds to events in Hobart Town. The manuscript version gives Cash as *‘pursued’* by constables whereas, in 1870, *‘they [the constables] laid in wait’*; in the manuscript *‘it cost his [Winstanley’s] life’* whereas, in 1870, he *‘lifdless lay’*; in the manuscript *‘he [Cash] shot his foe’* while, in 1870, Cash *‘shot clean off his nose’*; when called upon to surrender, Cash shouts *‘not until the day I die’* which, in 1870, is changed to *‘...until the hour I die ...’*.⁶⁹ The manuscript version of Cash’s capture begins *‘by treachery as it was said this brave man is laid’*, whereas, in the 1870 version, Cash is *‘o’erpowered and wounded, bleeding, pale’*. In the manuscript version, Cash meets his death sentence with *‘proud unflinching eye’*, but in 1870 *‘ne’er a blush come on his cheek nor a tear fell from his eye’*. Despite the exaggerated superhero stance given to Cash in both versions of *Come all ye sons...*, according to Abbott, such work so closely attached to the manuscript must be seen as integral to the manuscript and therefore has a place in the verification of the poem as contributing to the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript.

Further to Abbott’s contention of the relevance of non-narrative to narrative, it bears repeating that the changes made to *Come all ye sons...* prior to the first publication coincide with growing Irish patriotism and give credence to the author of the changes as being a possible patriotic Irish editor at the *Mercury Steam Press*.⁶⁹ The flamboyant exaggerations of the 1870 poem reflect this patriotic movement and, therefore, the poem has a place in historiography as verification of the continuing movements and ideas from the Irish homeland to the Irish exiles of the Transportation system. The satirical description of the ruling class and wealthy landowners as fools and the exaggeration of Cash as peerless hero feature the Irish dislike of the English, hence underpinning Abbott’s contention that non-narrative is relevant to narrative.

⁶⁹ In a study I carried out in the *Seattle Times* in 1966, a discovery was made of the ‘zipper’ or ‘filler’ in the daily paper. Up to twenty percent of fillers were about the nation of Finland. Seemingly strange, I followed up and discovered the last junior editor who had control of ‘white spaces’ was born and raised in Finland and it was his joke to include these fillers. One I recall was, *‘There are no small elephants in the lakes of Finland.’*

Irish Tales

It is not surprising that Cash's narrative has many allusions to Irish history, Irish events and Irish people. Van Diemen's Land was the home of many thousands of Cash's countrymen in 1843. Indeed, Cash was very sensitive to his Irish roots and mentions his countrymen who were caught in the colonial penal system. However, he is not openly adulatory, nor does he seek to present himself as an Irish patriot. However, he does show the expected Irish antagonism towards the English gentry.

Insertions of Irish material are common in the Cash/Burke manuscript and for the most part they consist of romantic tales. A few of the tales are humorous, but occasionally they illustrate the social solidarity of the Irish and sometimes they are informative. However, Cash does not project the Irish as incapable of doing wrong. The following quote simply gives information:

Mother, there is Martin Cash, these two sisters together with their mother had but recently left my native town in order to join their father who had some time previously emigrated [*sic*] to the colony; having heard the name of the gentleman to whom I was assigned [George Bowman] and being anxious to know something respecting his general character, learned from my friend that he was a bit of a martinet, and also that I must observe the utmost caution, or I might...⁷⁰

Some of the anecdotes project the antagonism the Irish felt for one of their own who had succumbed to the role of policeman, an act of betrayal. This is exemplified by Cash and Eliza's short sojourn in Sydney while awaiting their vessel to Van Diemen's Land. Here Cash seeks shelter with two acquaintances (Margaret and Esther Carroll) friends from County Wexford, Ireland. Upon finding out that Margaret was married to a policeman, they abruptly left her abode.⁷¹ Ironically, Cash himself was to become a constable on Norfolk Island.

⁷⁰ Cash, Folios 7 & 8.

⁷¹ Cash, Folios 87 & 88.

Perhaps the most Irish Cash becomes is when he was bushranging. When sheltering with the B—n's, Cash enjoyed the company of his friend Vinegar Hill,⁷² the Irish fiddler, who Cash projects as the star of their rollicking 'rest and relief' parties:

The old fiddler [Vinegar Hill] was a most amusing character and quite a wit in his way he related a number of stories and anecdotes whenever his bow hand was idle. I recollect that he told us that he was one of the party that had sworn in Samuel Cover [author of 'Irish Legends'] on the night of the burning⁷³ of Wild Goose Lodge.⁷⁴

This tale is part of the folk lore of Ireland and especially County Wexford where the Battle of Vinegar Hill took place, barely a kilometre from Cash's birthplace. Given Cash's propensity for tales we may assume his anti-English feelings flowed directly from the massacre on Vinegar Hill and the ensuing executions of the Irish Patriots like Father Murphy of Wexford.

It is probable that Cash heard some of these stories while in prison; however, the tenor of this additional material is quite different from Cash's first hand observations of circumstances and events. It is unnecessary to delve further into these insertions except to point out that many were not the words of a rough illiterate convict but more probably those of Burke. Some of the insertions carry a certain sense of erudition and knowledge of Irish and English history, which Cash would have had given the Irish oral tradition of passing stories from person to person. Burke, with the same general background, would probably have influenced the retelling of these stories.

There is no apparent reason for Cash/Burke to have included some stories in the narrative, but from Abbott's view of inflection the following examples must be seen as instrumental in holistically understanding the Cash narrative/manuscript. The fact was that Cash and/or Burke included these stories gives insight into their mental set and that of the Irish in general. The following table illustrates Irish connections:

⁷² 'Vinegar Hill', a few kilometres east of Cash's hometown of Enniscorthy, was the site of the 1798 Battle of Vinegar Hill.

⁷³ Wild Goose Lodge, <http://www.askaboutireland.ie/reading-room/history-heritage/big-houses-of-ireland/wildgoose-lodge/story-of-wildgoose-lodge/>, accessed 16 July 2007.

⁷⁴ Cash, Folio 246.

TABLE 3
IRISH CONNECTIONS

Folio 44	Donahoo ...the noted Irish bushranger.
Folio 58	Thomas Meager...native...in Ireland.
Folio 103	Irish Bushranger Regan.
Folio 246	Samuel Cover Irish, author of <i>Irish Legends</i> and a Ribbonman who wore his green sash proudly.
Folio 246	Wild Goose Lodge, a hideaway in Ireland for Irish Patriots.
Folio 246	Torching of Scullobogue Farm in Ireland.

The following story of Donahoo is found in only the manuscript and the first edition. It is doubtful whether Cash knew the story first hand. However, Cash relates:

Captain Bingley his Superintendent...it would appear that on his return from Sydney in company with three prisoners who he had assigned to his employ he met Donahoo, the noted bushranger. The meeting took place at the Bulgar road which ran along an interminable chain of hills for the distance of one hundred miles. Mr Clements on seeing three armed men some little distance ahead, observed to those in his company that he would ride up and capture them and putting spurs to his horse he road on sharply in front, but not having far to ride before coming up with the party he was in pursuit of the men in rear could see and hear distinctly what took place. Calling upon them to stand and throw down their arms they laughed at him, which seemed to but him verry much out of temper, and after repeating his commands which they still treated with derision, he took a pistol from his breast pocket, on seeing which one of the bushrangers ordered him to put that back again but on his attempting to cock it one of the bushrangers shot him through the head.⁷⁵

There is no record of Cash being involved with Donahoo in New South Wales, nor is there a probability that Cash had dealings with him as Donahoo had learned to keep out of people's way. Likewise, the possibly false story of Cash's cattle duffing is explained in the following:

...[Boodle] now informed me that the men who had just left us were perfectly aware of the circumstances ...Boodle now informed me that the cattle we were branding did not belong to him...observing that the best and safest plan I could now adopt would be to leave the colony immediately.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ It has not been possible to identify this murder by Donohoo. Perhaps it is a convict legend as Donohoo killed and robbed freely, or so the myth would lead us to believe, and he was known to be very vicious.

⁷⁶ Cash, Folio 72.

Campfire Anecdotes and Tall Stories

Standing by themselves, some of the campfire anecdotes are not particularly important to the Cash saga, but they do convey the lifestyle of convicts under extenuating circumstances. A number of these bear the tenor of both male conflict and male camaraderie. According to Abbott, such tales inflect the Cash story even though they may not have been directly involved in the episode. The following story, though not directly pertinent, gives insight into convict life of the period:

A series of most improbable tales then recited by some of the flashest/wittiest of the party, vieing [*sic*] with each other to see who could tell the greatest bouncer. I was of opinion that they were all married judging by their conversation but in this I was mistaken. One stated that some short time before he had lost his wife for a day and a night, and wondering where she had got to was at last of opinion that the 'blacks' must have carried her off, however, on going into the garden to get a pumpkin to have it cooked for dinner, and finding a verry large one with a hole cut into it on examination he found his wife inside. This circumstance appeared to surprise the rest of the party verry much, at least as far as appearances went, when another stated that his wife had lost a flat iron weighing seven pounds sometimes previous, and not finding it for several days...she at last put her hand in her pocket in search of her thimble and found the missing article.⁷⁷

Such a preposterous yarn evokes the image of a group of exiles passing time by spinning tall stories around a campfire. Naturally, the group would try to outdo each other which possibly helped launch the Australian tradition of telling impossible tales.

The Cash/Burke manuscript gives two accounts pertaining to Aborigines. First is the mention of an Aboriginal/European war which took place in New South Wales. Allegedly, the battle was initiated by a large group of Aborigines when they attacked a settler's hut. Two hundred of the attackers were supposedly killed, whereas the Europeans had no casualties. The second story refers to an Aboriginal fishing method in which poisonous plants were ground and thrown into the water. When the fish rose to the surface they were killed. No reference to the war could be found in records which throws doubt upon its veracity. It seems most unlikely that the massacre of two hundred Aborigines by a handful of whites would not be in official documents. Including this

⁷⁷ Cash, Folios 53 & 54.

story is a puzzle. Perhaps it is another campfire 'tall tale' illustrating the superiority of the settlers over backward savages from an inferior race. Likewise, no account of the Aboriginal method of fishing could be found. According to the manuscript account, the Aborigines had developed an ingenious technique. There is a hint of admiration in the description which contrasts with the projection of superiority in the account of the war. The two passages suggest ambivalence towards the widely held view of white supremacy.

To see sections of the Cash/Burke narrative as irrelevant to its historical value is to miss the psychological impact upon those who were designated to exile. The campfire stories give a scintillating glimpse of assignees wiling away free time by outdoing each other. The Aboriginal stories are suggestive of the attitudes of station-hands who were more likely to come into contact with indigenous people although, by this time (1835) Aborigines were to be found in all major urban centres. Although numerous passages may be seen as unnecessary diversions, there is little doubt they inflect the narrative. A distinction must be made between the telling of a simple narrative and the revelation of the feelings and aspirations of those involved. By taking this seemingly extraneous material into consideration, the Cash story widens beyond Cash's immediate experiences and the simple story gains more subtle dimensions. To ignore these passages would be an unfortunate loss. While the poems are not truly part of the story *per se*, they are traditional to the time; more importantly, although they may be seen as simple 'embroidery', to view them as unimportant is to miss the need of powerless people to create their own heroes who outshone those in authority.

CHAPTER 7
THE INFLUENCE
OF THE
1870 EDITION
UPON
MARCUS CLARKE'S 1874
FOR THE TERM OF HIS NATURAL LIFE

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the connection between *Adventures...* and *For the Term...* not other sources which may have impinged upon Clarke's work. In examining the relationship, the aim is to come down on both sides of the issue as to whether Clarke used information taken from the Cash/Burke 1870 edition. There can be little doubt that Clarke borrowed what he wanted from any source he wished in order to write his novel. Because *For the Term...* is considered by many to be one of the most important Australian novels it is proper to examine the historical sources of Clarke's work. The aim of this entire thesis is to show the value of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. There can be little doubt that Clarke saw the value of the Cash/Burke work in underpinning his novel. Later historians seem to have either not understood the value of *The Adventures...* or they did not have access to either the manuscript or the 1870 edition.

In examining the time line of the two works, it is known that the Cash narrative was published in October 1870, although the records in the Archives of Tasmania state in error that it was published in January of 1870. *For the Term...* was published four years later in 1874. Clarke briefly visited Tasmania in 1870 and spent time at Port Arthur and Hobart, where he investigated the entire penal process as he was working on various stories for his newspaper, *The Argus* of Melbourne. There was some time available for Clarke to peruse the Cash 1870 edition and weave the source into some of his stories. Cash's book had been advertised in the *Mercury* for many weeks before its publication and it seems impossible for an inquisitive journalist like Clarke to not have seen these

advertisements.⁷⁸ Indeed, as a noted journalist and writer Clarke would have discovered a sensational new publication about crime and bushrangers which were two of his themes.

In examining Clarke's use of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript it would be easy to assume that Clarke boldly plagiarized sections from *Adventures...* and with the support of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary's* definition that 'plagiarism' is to '... steal and pass off as one's own the ideas or words of another ...'⁷⁹ Although it can be shown that Clarke did not plagiarize in the accepted use of the term, he most certainly borrowed freely from any source he wished. However, what may be seen as stealing from another work today was not deemed as illegal, immoral or bad practice in Clarke's period of the middle nineteenth century; in fact, cutting and pasting was an acceptable practice. Additionally, many memoirs and histories of the time borrowed from other works as the discipline of history was very much in its infancy and was yet to develop professional protocols. In Clarke's time thoughtful copying could be seen as a compliment and would have been acceptable for Clarke to use parts of the Cash story in his intertwining narrative of crime, bestiality and romance.

As a long term detainee in many gaols and prisons, Cash was an expert on life in the British penal system. Cash's contributions certainly added authenticity to Clarke's work similar to the contributions of other scientists' ideas to Darwin's *The Origin of Species*.⁸⁰ Thus, as is generally known today, *Origin...* was not entirely the work of Darwin. As with the contribution of others to *Origin...*, there is little doubt that *Adventures...* was important to Clarke's work. The extent of Clarke's use of others' material is found in Michael Wilding's critique:

...Clarke borrowed from any and all sources available to him...The young country was not a closed, provincial, parochial society, but part of the map of world wide itinerants...men of fortune, buccaneers, confidence tricksters, the ceaseless tribe of

⁷⁸ A Dictionary of Biography, <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030392b.htm>, accessed 10 May 2009.

⁷⁹ *Webster's Third...*, p.1728.

⁸⁰ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species: By Means of Natural Selection* (London, 1859).

the footloose. ...Clarke stresses...literary allusions, drawing analogies with his antipodean [*sic*] characters from English, European, and American writing...⁸¹

This thesis examines only the Cash element in *For the Term...* and where other influences may have impinged upon Clarke's novel is not within the scope of this work. To validate the connection between the two works, a number of passages will be examined which bear varying degrees of circumstantial evidence pertaining to their compatibility.⁸²

The chapter has been divided into two parts. The first is a holistic view of Clarke, his work and their connection to Cash's *Adventures*.... Some short quotes from Cash and Clarke are used and are given full explanation in the second half of the chapter. The first part also deals with a legal judgment from a barrister. The second part consists of nine longer illustrations with comparisons of the two works and commentary to illustrate that Clarke's *For the Term...* is in many places dependent upon Cash's *Adventures*.... Advice was sought from legal professionals to discover if Clarke's dependency on Cash could be proven in a contemporary court of law on the basis of circumstantial evidence. At first the evidence of apparent borrowing on the part of Clarke seemed to be circumstantial; however, if sufficient circumstantial evidence could be found, the case could be given that Cash's work was probably one of Clarke's sources. The modern definition of plagiarism as it occurs in *For the Term...* is examined by a barrister and the use of Cash quotes or ideas is used in a comparative form using passages from *Adventures...* and *For the Term*.... The barrister/solicitor, Mr Ross Hart,⁸³ was consulted to learn the use of circumstantial evidence in legal cases, the inference being that the proof of Clarke's possible plagiarism bore a similarity to cases in law. The advice given by Hart was that the law of evidence had long allowed circumstantial evidence to be used in legal charges provided this evidence met definite guidelines. It was then decided that the laws of evidence in legal trials could be applied to the Cash/Clarke works. Of course, as there is

⁸¹ Michael Wilding, ed, *Marcus Clarke* (Queensland, 1976) p. xvii.

⁸² There are approximately fifty-five comparable passages of value. It has been deemed unnecessary by the author to compare all fifty-five because the necessary information had already been illustrated. Any more illustrations would have been padding the chapter.

⁸³ Ross Hart, LLB, University of Tasmania, Senior Partner with Rae and Partners, Launceston, Tasmania, President of Law Society of Tasmania, 2009.

almost no direct evidence to prove plagiarism, sufficient strong circumstantial evidence must be gathered to show a high degree of dependency. This Hart does.

Obviously, some circumstantial evidence may be so vague as to not be of any importance and could exist contrary to the central thought of this chapter. For example, the very similar names of some ships are intriguing but this does not prove nor infer the case against Clarke in any way when examined. Additionally, there is no material or research to indicate that Clarke's work was not dependent upon Cash's manuscript. In other words, no common source has been found and, because of the four years' difference between the publication of Cash's work and Clarke's, there can be no doubt that Cash is independent of Clarke's work. The question remains as to whether Clarke was independent of Cash's work. Whilst the absence of a linkage is not the issue at hand, it would be inappropriate to ignore the extensive volume of material leading to the 'probability' of a link between the two. Many readers accepted *For the Term...* to be a true tale of British justice, torture and bad government, but it must be remembered that Clarke's work is a novel and not a history textbook. Accordingly, this chapter is not an examination of *For the Term...* as literature, but of Clarke's use of the Cash work as an important source.

Clarke wrote for profit and not out of a need to tell the historical truth about colonial penology. In 1870 Clarke had lost most of his money and was living in near poverty in Melbourne thus Clarke's goal was basically pecuniary.⁸⁴ One of Cash's goals was to set his personal record straight and, at the same time, entertain his friends with the view of possibly exacting some retribution upon the penal system. We must also assume that Cash and Burke received some type of emolument. Clarke's need for money is exemplified by his often sensational writings for the Melbourne *Argus* and other periodicals.⁸⁵ However, in the sections reliant on the 1870 edition, the Clarke work is remarkably accurate as will be illustrated. Also of interest is the indebtedness of other

⁸⁴ Clarke, at the time of his writing *Natural Life*, was in danger of becoming a bankrupt. His personal tale of the 1870 period reveals an ill man trying to recoup his wealth. Clarke also gloried in the spotlight of fame.

⁸⁵ Andrew McCann, *Marcus Clarke's Bohemia: Literature and Modernity in Colonial Melbourne* (Carlton, 2004).

fictional writers to Cash's work, such as Coultman Smith in *Tales of Old Tasmania*⁸⁶ and Frank Clune in *The Norfolk Island Story*.⁸⁷ In sections reliant upon Cash, both works are relatively accurate and both became Tasmanian best sellers.

Clarke's debt to the Cash narrative has not been fully acknowledged. Although Clarke's original work lists the *Adventures of Martin Cash* and the incidents of George Armstrong, Pine Tree Jack and Alexander Campbell⁸⁸ in a desultory manner, the recent edition of *For the Term...* failed to reference Cash's 1870 edition. The dust jacket from the 2002 edition reads:

The classic novel of convict Australia...is a narrative of enormous power...Frere [a stylized Price] the magnificent barbarian...and the luckless Rufus Dawe [a stylized Cash]...condemned to transportation...is still regarded as Australia's most significant colonial novel.⁸⁹

Many uninformed readers might accept *For the Term...* to be a true tale and most historians do not. However, the weaving together of many sources from many writers does not mean that Clarke's work is without historical value. Admittedly, Clarke made reference to Cash in two endnotes; however, two endnotes do not constitute enough direct evidence to prove the extent of Clarke's indebtedness to the Cash narrative. Upon examination of circumstantial evidence, Hart⁹⁰ stated that it is entirely possible and even probable that there is a strong connection between the two works to the point that Clarke freely used the Cash/Burke work.⁹¹ To exploit a trial analogy, it is first necessary to quote from D. M. O'Byrne QC and J. D. Heydon from their reference book on evidence:

...a judge must, where the evidence is purely circumstantial, direct them [the jury] to acquit [the accused] unless the facts are not only consistent with the accused's [*sic*] guilt, but also inconsistent with any other rational conclusion.⁹²

To apply the above quote to the case of Clarke's dependency on Cash, Clarke is seen as accused and the reader as jury. If the reader considers the accumulation of circumstantial evidence sufficient and consistent enough, then Clarke must be seen as heavily reliant on

⁸⁶ Smith, *Tales of Old Tasmania*.

⁸⁷ Clune, *The Norfolk Island Story*.

⁸⁸ Clarke, *For the Term...*, p. 296.

⁸⁹ Clarke, *For the Term...*, dust jacket.

⁹⁰ Ross Hart.

⁹¹ 'Probable' here means one step removed from 'proven'.

⁹² Byrne & Heydon, *Cross on...*, pp. 249 & 250.

Cash's work. The value of the evidence moves from the obvious connection such as the torture bed to the least convincing evidence. However, even the weakest evidence must be weighed. If the facts are insufficient in number and inconsistent in content then Clarke must be seen as innocent of simple plagiarism but it cannot be dismissed that Clarke used the Cash/Burke manuscript as one of his basic sources. While the use of the word plagiarism may be seen as a pejorative, it is not meant in that sense in this chapter. It must be accepted that in terms of the lack of copyright in Clarke's period, plagiarism was not an important issue.

It is the contention that the information provides sufficient and credible circumstantial evidence to prove Clarke's high dependency upon the Cash/Burke narrative. This circumstantial evidence is rated as 'proven' or 'probable' or 'possible'. The passage which describes an iron frame (or 'torture bed') used to strap convicts in such manner as to restrict movement and breathing is seen as strong evidence in the case against Clarke and may be viewed as 'probable'. However, according to Hart, one piece of hard evidence is not sufficient to prove the case. It is necessary, therefore, to provide more evidence. In placing circumstantial evidence on a continuum, there are both strong and weak points. To validate the case, all circumstantial evidence must be weighed from the strongest to the weakest. Perhaps the least valuable circumstantial evidence in proving the connection is the comparison of two ships. Lady Franklin was the wife of the Van Diemen's Land governor, Sir John Franklin. Her full name was Lady Mary Jane Franklin and it appears that Clarke became somewhat confused in his exposition as he refers to the ship as both the *Mary Jane* and the *Lady Franklin*. Clarke's *For the Term...* refers to the 'Mary Jane' from which Rufus Dawes makes '...a daring escape... world cared little that the 'Mary Jane', Government schooner, had sailed for Port Arthur without Rufus Dawes'.⁹³ This evidence may seem irrelevant, but it strengthens in the last two pages of *For the Term...* when Clarke writes: 'The *Lady Franklin* [used both for general cargo and convict transportation] had reached the center [*sic*] of the cyclone...the schooner, no longer steadied by the wind, was at the mercy of every sea...'⁹⁴ Clarke makes further reference

⁹³ Clarke, *For the Term...*, p. 153.

⁹⁴ Clarke, *For the Term...*, p. 292.

to the *Lady Franklin* in his Epilogue: "...this object was a portion of the mainmast head of the *Lady Franklin*".⁹⁵ It was possibly a coincidence that Cash's ship was also named the *Lady Franklin*, but, given sufficient other evidence, it may be seen as assisting to 'prove' the case although this example provides the weakest link of circumstantial evidence but it must not be discarded.

Hart states that an entire case may be built upon circumstantial evidence from which adjudication may be constructed. However, all must have a degree of bearing upon the reliability of the information. The following passages strongly suggest Cash as the origin of some of Clarke's writings as many of the same words are used and the ideas are similar. Additional comparisons of passages from the two works further validate Cash's *Adventures*... as a major source for Clarke's *For the Term*... and are found in the second half of this chapter. With reference to the legal use of evidence in criminal trials, Hart states: 'Clarke's unattributed use of Cash's work would in this day and age be tantamount to plagiarism, but in any event [the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript] can be safely regarded as an important source'.⁹⁶

Further cases of evidence are provided. Cash plotted the murder of the Black trackers who had been sent to capture him and who, Cash states, were sent from the mainland:

[Mrs B—n and Vinegar Hill] bringing us intelligence that the local government when all their expedients failed had brought over two New South Wales 'Trackers' in order to ferret us out...aborigenies [*sic*] are retained in the pay of the police in New South Wales who have success in tracking absconders...every facility for tracking us...we would have no difficulty in shooting the Trackers and making our escape...⁹⁷

*The Hobart Town Advertiser*⁹⁸ ran a story giving full credence to Cash's black trackers. Burke included the *Advertiser's* report of black trackers in the *Addenda*. It is possible that Clarke obtained the idea of the black trackers from the newspaper of 7 July 1843. However, the question must be asked as to why he would have gone to the trouble of obtaining the information from a newspaper morgue when it was already printed and

⁹⁵ Clarke, *For the Term*..., p. 293.

⁹⁶ Interview with Ross Hart, 7 February 2011.

⁹⁷ Cash, Folios 244 & 245.

⁹⁸ 'Two aboriginal natives', *Hobart Town Advertiser*, 7 July 1843, p.3 (*Addenda*, p. 32).

readily available in the 1870 edition. Using old newspaper morgues would have been difficult. The *Hobart Advertiser* reads:

Two aboriginal natives of New South Wales arrived here on Monday, and yesterday were despatched with the Chief Constable Morgan in search of Cash & Co. They are young, active, and intelligent men, and if they perform half they promise the capture of the bushrangers is certain. The long time these men have been enabled to remain at large is, we really believe, in a great measure owing to the punishment of death which awaits them, thus affording an excellent practical proof of the unanswerable reasoning of Mr Bazil [*sic*] Montague, father of the judge, and other able arguers against capital punishment...⁹⁹

The above report verifies Cash's claim to have been tracked by Aborigines from New South Wales, but the question remains whether Clarke obtained the idea of trackers from the 1843 report or from the 1870 edition. However, as stated above, it is more likely that he used a more recent and more easily obtained source. In Chapter 1 of the narrative/manuscript Cash mentions his prowess as a runner who was able to run down cattle and bring them back to the station.¹⁰⁰ His convict record mentions his long feet and agility. Cash's confidence in his athletic ability is further exemplified in the account of the capture when, while being pursued by an angry mob, he asserts that he '...knew that if I could keep my road clear none of them could catch me ...'.¹⁰¹

Clarke's account of trackers and of the running speed of Dawes reads:

...the fellow runs like a deer...after he [Frere] had reached the barracks, and had spent the few hours of remaining daylight in scouring the country along the road to the North. At dawn the next day he [Dawes] was away to the mountain...and with the black tracker at his heels explored as much of that wilderness of gully and chasm as nature permitted to him...¹⁰²

Granted, Clarke gives no mention of New South Wales but the harsh landscape he describes is very similar to Cash's description of the gang's flight through the rugged bush of the Western Tiers. Maxwell-Stuart stated in a recent communication: 'Although trackers were widely used on the mainland to capture escapees, they were seldom used in Van Diemen's Land, an exception being Dual and Mosquito who were used to track

⁹⁹ *Addenda, Hobart Town Advertiser*, 7 July 1843, p. 32.

¹⁰⁰ Cash, Folios 29-31.

¹⁰¹ Cash, Folio 299.

¹⁰² Clarke, *For the Term...*, p. 153.

Michael Howe.¹⁰³ This information suggests that the probability of Clarke using an information source other than Cash's 1870 edition is slim.

Likewise, the sadly humorous story of Pine Tree Jack stands out as a tale which is more than co-incidental. It is difficult to imagine Pine Tree Jack as Cash's invention as his narration deals with actual events and real people. Pine Tree is also mentioned by convict Mark Jeffrey in *A Burglar's Life*:¹⁰⁴

...Case said he [Case was a Norfolk Island cook who was known to be an easy going person] would give the man something to eat. This, however, was against the regulations, and I told him so...he cared nothing about Pine-tree Jack, owing to a practice he had of spying our actions from the branches of the pine-trees, and I knew him to be in the vicinity at the time the carter arrived. Case, however, said he cared nothing about Pine-tree Jack, and soon fried the man some meat, which he set before him. He had no sooner eaten it, however, than down came Pine-tree Jack and arrested Case, who for this offence was sentenced to nine months in the quarry gang.¹⁰⁵

Norfolk Island convict Dubbo (George Strong), a prisoner known by Cash, became a double agent for Price but only after many lashes and much torture ordered by the Commandant. Even Cash eventually succumbed to Price's brutality in much the same way as Pine Tree Jack and Dubbo.¹⁰⁶ This reward for spying was a regular method in Price's dealing with some prisoners. This is frequently attested to throughout the Norfolk Island section of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript and these themes of torture and release in order to persuade a convict to become an informer is a theme running through the prison periods in *For the Term...* and certainly a major issue in the narrative.

The story of Pine Tree Jack builds the case. Cash's account shows Pine Tree as an informer. His specialty was to hide up a tree to spy on his fellows and report any wrong doings to Price. Cash's account reads:

...after tying the end of a black thread round the tobacco he placed it in the same position in which he found it, and making the thread sufficiently long for his purposes he next covered it with earth...he repaired to his hiding place [In near-by

¹⁰³ Email from Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, 6/02/2009.

¹⁰⁴ Mark Jeffrey was a convict at Norfolk Island during Cash's time at the prison.

¹⁰⁵ Jeffrey, *A Burglar's...*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁶ This use of spies-made-constables was a thorn of contention to Jeffrey, especially when it concerned Cash whom he saw as Price's lackey.

bushes.]...he captured the prisoner with the tobacco in his hand...delinquent received fifty lashes and twelve months addition.¹⁰⁷

Clarke changes Pine Tree's name to Dawes but he tells an almost identical tale:

He [Dawes] had found nothing. In vain he had laid traps for him; in vain had he planted figs of tobacco, and attaching long threads to them, waited in a bush hard by, until the pluck at the end of his line should give token that the fish had bitten...Filled with....ambition he determined upon an ingenious little trick.¹⁰⁸

Jeffrey's account gives credence to Cash's recollection of Pine Tree and his methods, and although Clarke does not use the name 'Pine Tree' his story is remarkably similar to both accounts. The point is that Jeffrey's 1898 report was not available to Clarke in 1874 leaving only Cash's 1870 account as a source.

Dubbo, who Price assigned to the dreaded pepper grinder, succumbed to become one of Price's spies. While not identical, Hart affirms that the stories are sufficiently similar to be acceptable circumstantial evidence and may be viewed as 'probable'. Cash's story of Dubbo reads:

...fifty lashes...Dubbo still...held out...he was next employed in grinding cayenne pepper in an old steel mill being obliged to wear a mask...also...hands...This punishment had been more dreaded by the prisoners than any other which they would be subjected to short of death.¹⁰⁹

Clarke's story is similar even though the name Dubbo is replaced by Dawes:

Upon which the indomitable poor devil straightened his sorely-tired muscles, and prevented the wheel from turning at all. Captain Frere [Price] gave him fifty more lashes, and sent him the next day to grind Cayenne pepper. This was a punishment more dreaded by the convicts than any other. The pungent dust filled their eyes and lungs, causing them the most excruciating torments. For a man with a raw back the work was one continued agony. In four days, Rufus Dawes, emaciated, blistered, blinded, broke down.¹¹⁰

Both Cash and Clarke describe a similar method of torture used by both Cash's Price and Clarke's Frere: severe punishment progressing to release and returning to more

¹⁰⁷ Cash, Folios 378 & 379.

¹⁰⁸ Clarke, *For the Term...*, p. 256.

¹⁰⁹ Cash, Folios 369 & 370.

¹¹⁰ Clarke, *For the Term...*, p. 258.

torture. Worse still, the convicts were never certain about what might be deemed a misdemeanour; nor could they be entirely sure of the identity of the informants. Dubbo's tale is one of the best pieces of evidence in the case of Cash versus Clarke. Cash gives the following account of the punishment exacted upon Dubbo by Price:

...Price not feeling satisfied that he had as yet completely subdued dubbo [*sic*]...placed him in charge of the water cart...and should dubbo fail to bring them [other convicts] to notice Mr Price would then have an opportunity of giving him another spell at the peppermill...However Dubbo remained faithful to his trust and brought him [the miscreant convicts upon whom he had been spying to the office on every possible occasion [of wrong doing] and by doing so he got into the good graces of Mr Price.¹¹¹

Not surprisingly, the theme of torture features frequently in both Clarke's and Cash's works. Both deal with the black gag as being particularly dreadful and perhaps the worst example of human depravity and wanton degeneracy arising from a savagely cruel system. Cash illustrates the consequence of torture in the case of Rocky Whelan¹¹² who was driven to madness and multiple murders. A long section in the narrative concerns itself with this tale, part of which reads:

He informed me that he had then been seventeen years on the Island and gave up all hope of every leaving it, but his trials were only about to commence as the next time I seen [*sic*] him he was handcuffed to a lamppost with his hands tied behind his back and a gag in his mouth secured around his head with something resembling a head stall and there he remained, exposed to the burning sun and the attacks of flies and other insects for eight hours, merely for having a bit of tobacco in his possession [*sic*].¹¹³

Being caught with any tobacco, including residue in a beard, often earned the recalcitrant a longer prison term of up to eighteen months besides physical torture such as the lash or the black gag. There were some prisoners who would not break and Whelan was one of them. The black gag was one of Price's methods of coercion.

The quotation continues:

Besides this treatment Whelan had been repeatedly flogged, imprisoned in the dark cells with the black gag...in his mouth for eight consecutive hours at a stretch it being the opinion of the doctor that this punishment could not be applied for a

¹¹¹ Cash, Folio 370.

¹¹² Rocky Whelan was eventually released from Norfolk Island to Hobart where he was known as a crazed killer. Whelan was hanged in Hobart in 1855.

¹¹³ Cash, Folio 364.

longer period without endangering the life of the prisoner. This gag was generally inflicted for some disrespect, whether real or imaginary, on the part of the prisoner towards the officials when on their tour of inspection around the solitary cells.¹¹⁴

Perhaps Clarke received his information about the black gag not from the Cash work but from another former Norfolk Island prisoner. This has to be accepted as possible. However, the similarities between the two accounts by Cash and Clarke bear striking resemblance and Clarke would have been cognizant about the black gag in his reading of the Cash work of 1870, keeping in mind that Clarke's work was published in 1874. Although Clarke does not give a name to the recipient of the black gag, his account is similar to that given by Cash. Clarke's account reads:

In one of the turnkey's rooms in the new gaol is to be seen an article of harness, which at first creates surprises to the mind of the beholder, who considers what animal of the brute creation exists of so diminutive a size as to admit of its use. On inquiry, it will be found to be a bridle, perfect in headband, throat-lash etc., for a human being. There is attached to this bridle a round piece of cross wood, of almost four inches in length, and one and a half in diameter. This, again, is secured to a broad strap of leather to cross the mouth. In the wood there is a small hole, and, when used, the wood is inserted in the mouth, the small hole being the only breathing space. This being secured with the various straps and buckles, a more complete bridle could not be well imagined...and forthwith took from its pegs one of the bridles...therein was a man laying on his straw mat, undressed...Gimblett inserted the iron-wood gag in his mouth...placed him with his back against a lamp post...secured by hand cuffs...¹¹⁵

The use of the black gag is documented in other sources such as Moran's *Torture Devices*.¹¹⁶ Of course, it can be argued that the story of the black gag was merely part of the convict lore of Norfolk Island. However, there is no documented evidence that this method of torture was employed on Norfolk Island prior to Price, so it appears to be unique to Price's time as Commandant. It is difficult to think that the entire episode of Whelan and the black gag was Cash's invention. There are scattered passages which infer the use of the black gag in *For the Term*...¹¹⁷ and the descriptions are remarkably similar to Cash's rendition.

¹¹⁴ Cash, Folios 364-367.

¹¹⁵ Clarke, *For the Term*..., pp. 391 & 392.

¹¹⁶ C. Moran, 'Torture Devices of the Old Convict Ships', *Modern Mechanics* (September 1930) pp.1-3.

¹¹⁷ Cash's description of the black gag is similar to C. Moran's who researched the use of torture in the convict period. Moran believes that the black gag was used to stifle the cries of pain rather than to inflict pain.

Robson was aware of the connection between the Cash and Clarke works but did not pursue the relationship between the two. He gives two examples of Clarke's use of Cash's narrative in his 1963 article in *Australian Literary Studies*.¹¹⁸ When he states that Clarke leaned a little upon Cash's narrative, Robson demonstrated his interest in the relationship between the two but chose not to proceed with the connection. Robson states:

In the chapters dealing with the escape of John Rex and a party of convicts including Cabbett, Clarke leans a little on an account of the Life of Martin Cash a Van Diemen's Land bushranger but the story of the escape is substantially the novelist's own invention. Cash did escape from Tasman's Peninsula under somewhat similar circumstances.¹¹⁹

To refer to Clarke's tale of escape as '...substantially the novelist's own invention...' is to have missed Clarke's reliance upon the Cash narrative. It is not known how Robson gathered his material about the Cash/Clarke connection. He may have used Clarke's end notes as he (Clarke) briefly cites two uses of the Cash work, both of which referred to the 1870 edition.¹²⁰ These are the only citations concerning Cash's work in Clarke's notes. Why Robson claimed it was not known whether torture was used on Norfolk Island must be left to other scholarship as there are numerous articles and records concerning the issue. Having stated that he was dealing with a work of fiction, Robson may have missed the many important historical connections between the Cash data and *For the Term*.... Robson further states:

...to estimate what licence he has taken with his data and to compare Clarke's account of the convict system with the reality. It is important to bear in mind that Clarke was a novelist not an historian...it is just that his references can be traced and appraised...¹²¹

Another possible reason for Robson missing the connection between the two works is that he read one of the post-1870 editions with the assumption that it was the complete work. The fact remains that parts of Book III and IV of *For the Term*... are beholden to the Cash narrative and the culmination of *For the Term*... carries much of its drama from the

¹¹⁸ L. Robson, 'The Historical Bases of *For the Term of His Natural Life*', *Australian Literary Studies* (December 1963) pp. 104-121.

¹¹⁹ Robson, 'Historical Basis...' p. 19.

¹²⁰ Clarke, *For the Term*..., Appendix, pp. 295 & 296.

¹²¹ Robson, *Convict Settlers*, pp. 105-107.

real-life events told by Cash. Of course, this precludes the melodramatic element of fiction as exemplified in the drowning deaths of Rufus and Sylvia. However, the underlying theme of violence in Clarke's novel, especially in Part III and IV, mirrors the violent subject matter in Cash's narrative, so it is questionable that without Cash's tales of Norfolk Island and Port Arthur Clarke's work would have resonated so strongly.

In Wilding's *Marcus Clarke's His Natural Life*,¹²² Wilding did not make the connections between Cash and Clarke and whether or not he did this on purpose cannot be known. Instead, Wilding concentrated more on Clarke's literary attainments. He contends:

Wrestling with historical records is one of the great struggles of the novelist's life. The novelist tries to assure that he or she shapes the material and isn't overwhelmed by the documentation.¹²³

There is no record that Clarke purchased Cash's work nor that the two men met at some portside pub. A disclaimer must be inserted here as Cash was a rough old lag, well advanced in alcohol related problems and Clarke was a known gentleman of refined tastes. They probably inhabited different parts of Hobart and perhaps never crossed paths, though this is doubtful given Clarke's inquisitiveness. We should not expect a forward in Clarke's work to thank Cash for his engaging tales. Neither should we be surprised when some of the more poignant parts of the finale of *For the Term...* first appeared in Cash's narrative or, at the very least, have strong resemblance to Cash's manuscript. Apart from Clarke's almost word for word transmogrification of Cash's torture bed, other similarities are less obvious but highly possible to have been taken from the Cash account.

Andrew McCann saw *Natural Life...* as a tale of the times and a work of simple fiction. Of course, in the literary sense, Clarke's work arises from his imagination and is augmented with historical elements. Dividing fact from fiction in a historical novel is perhaps impossible. McCann relates that some literature of 1860-1870 was:

¹²² Michael Wilding, *Marcus Clarke, His Natural Life: The Australian Experience: Critical Essays on Australian Novels* (Sydney, 1974) pp.19-37.

¹²³ Michael Wilding, ed, *Port Arthur in Marcus Clarke: For the Term of his Natural Life, Short Stories, Critical Essays and Journalism* (Queensland, 1976) p. 530.

...texts which set out to manufacture imaginative experiences through popular genres that could neither conceal the nature of the affect they generated, nor sustain Romantic Fictions...¹²⁴

Samuel Rowe Simmons gives further insight into Clarke's methodology when he informs that Clarke borrowed from any place which had an Australian source. Clarke considered himself an Australian and wrote almost entirely in the Australian idiom, accordingly, Cash's narrative was an excellent source of Australiana.¹²⁵

Hiener¹²⁶, as stated, obtained the original Cash manuscript for a period during the 1960's. Like Robson and others he missed the connection between Cash and Clarke because, by his own admission, he was more interested in James Lester Burke as the scribe of Cash's narrative. In *Van Diemen's Land*, James Boyce views the fictionalized *Natural Life*... as part of the social history of the colonial period. In his study, Boyce observes that Clarke's notorious Maurice Frere was, in fact, Price. However, Boyce sees the comparison more as a simile than a metaphor and briefly infers Clarke's indebtedness to Cash and it would appear that Clarke, being aware that Frere's personality was modelled on Price's or at the very least Price was a partial template for Clarke when he states:

At the Launceston women's factory, 'singing, telling stories and dancing took up much of the women's time, while the man in charge of the Hobart factory, John Price [later the infamous commandant of Norfolk Island and the inspiration for the character of Maurice Frere in 'For the Term of his Natural Life']...¹²⁷

Clarke relied on Cash's narrative for factual detail. Without the authenticity emanating from *Adventures...*, *For the Term...* may not have become the popular novel it did. Of course, there is no way of proving this but it follows that if *For the Term...* relied upon some historically proven incidents from the Cash narrative, Clarke's work accrues to itself more credibility.

¹²⁴ Andrew McCann, 'Textual Phantasmagoria: Marcus Clarke, Light Literature and the Colonial Uncanny', *Australian Literary Studies*, 21.2 (2003) pp. 137-39.

¹²⁵ Samuel Rowe Simmons, *Marcus Clarke, An Annotated Checklist: 1863-1972* (Sydney, 1975) p. 61.

¹²⁶ W. Hiener, *Martin Cash...*, pp. 65-85.

¹²⁷ Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land*, p. 135.

A comparison of the following nine items sustains the view that Clarke's work was to some extent dependent upon the Cash story. For the purpose of differentiation, Cash's work is bold-faced and Clarke's font has been reduced from 12 point font to 11. In 'Fifteen Cash/Clarke Comparisons' (Appendix 13) additional items are presented and compared.

1. Folios 387A & 387B. A new instrument of torture had at this time been introduced, being an iron frame about six feet long and two and a half wide having round Iron bars placed transversely about twelve inches apart. The prisoner on being placed in a horizontal position on the frame with his head projecting over the end and without any means of support was then firmly lashed with cord and in this position he would remain in darkness for the space of twelve hours.

Page 274. Her eyes...began to see what the 'punishment' was. Upon the floor was placed an iron frame about six feet long, and two and a half feet wide, with round iron bars, placed transversely, about twelve inches apart. The man...was bound in a horizontal position upon this frame, with the neck projecting over the end of it. If he allowed his head to hang, the blood rushed to his brain, and suffocated him, while the effort to keep it raised strained every muscle to agony pitch....Who ordered this?...the Commandant...

A comparison of the two quotes reveals a strong connection; in fact, some parts are identical. The similarity between _..an iron frame about six feet long and two and a half wide'... and _..horizontal position upon [on] the frame...head [neck] projecting over the end...' precludes the possibility of a simple word accident. To further the point, it is unlikely that both descriptions would accidentally include a sophisticated word like _transversely'. Clarke's almost word for word use of the 1870 edition was obviously a conscious lift-out.

2. Folios 369 & 370 ...Mr Price...sentenced him ['Dubbo'] to fifty lashes...he was at once taken back to the cells and on the day following was sentenced to fifty lashes...Dubbo still unflinchingly held out and Mr Price flogged him so repeatedly that at last the doctor had to interpose...but his punishment was not yet over...Having performed the required number of revolutions on the grindstone for the space of a week, he ['Dubbo'] was next employed in grinding cayenne pepper in an old steel mill, being obliged to wear a mask and also to have his hands covered while at work. This punishment had been more dreaded by the prisoners than any other which they could be subjected to short of death.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Cash, Folios 369 & 370.

Page 258. Frere visited him, and finding his spirit not yet broken ordered that he should be put to grind maize. Dawes declined...so they chained his hand to one arm of the grindstone...Upon which the poor devil straightened his sorely-tired muscles, and prevented the wheel from turning at all. Frere gave him fifty more lashes, and sent him the next day to grind cayenne pepper. This was a punishment more dreaded by the convicts than any other. The pungent dust filled their eyes and lungs, causing them the most excruciating torments. For a man with a raw back the work was one of continued agony. In four days, Rufus Dawes, emaciated, blistered, blinded, broke down.¹²⁹

The imagery of the fifty lashes, the cayenne pepper incident and the dreadful agony to which recalcitrants were subjected, while not word for word from Cash, are similar enough to provide further evidence of Clarke's use of the Cash work.

3. Folios 364-365 ...after passing through a refined system of torture...he [Whelan] informed me that he had then been seventeen years on the island and gave up all hope of ever leaving it, but his trials were only about to commence as the next time I seen him he was handcuffed to a lamppost with his hands tied behind his back and a gag in his mouth secured around his head with something resembling a head stall and there he remained, exposed to the burning sun and the attack of flies and other insects for eight hours merely for having a bit of tobacco in his possession [sic]...this gag was generally inflicted for some disrespect, whether real or imaginary on the part of the prisoner towards the officials when on their tour of inspection round [sic] the solitary cells...

Page 260. In one of the turnkey's rooms in the new gaol is to be seen an article of harness, which at first creates surprises to the mind of the beholder, who considers what animal of the brute creation exists of so diminutive a size as to admit of its use. On inquiry, it will be found to be a bridle, perfect in headband, throat-lash etc., for a human being. There is attached to this bridle a round piece of cross wood, of almost four inches in length, and one and a half in diameter. This, again, is secured to a broad strap of leather to cross the mouth. In the wood there is a small hole, and, when used, the wood is inserted in the mouth, the small hole being the only breathing space. This being secured with the various straps and buckles, a more complete bridle could not be well imagined...and forthwith took from its pegs one of the bridles...therein was a man laying on his straw mat, undressed...Gimblett inserted the iron-wood gag in his mouth...placed him with his back against a lamp post...secured by hand cuffs...

These passages strongly suggest Cash as a model for Clarke's description of the black gag. The use of comparable words/phrases such as: hand cuffed against/to lamp post, bridle/head stall and gag in his mouth/gag in his mouth are but a few of the analogous, descriptions of the entire torture process inflicted upon inmates of Norfolk Island.

¹²⁹ Clarke, *For the Term...*, pp. 257 & 258.

4. Folios 378 & 379. [Convict overseer Pine Tree Jack] ...after tying the end of a black thread round [*sic*] the tobacco he placed it in the same position in which he found it, and making the thread sufficiently long for his purposes he next covered it with earth...he repaired to his hiding place...he captured the prisoner with the tobacco in his hand...delinquent received [by Price] fifty lashes and twelve months addition.

Page 256. ...in vain he [the prison warden] had laid traps...in vain had he 'planted' figs of tobacco and attaching long threads to them, waited in a bush hard by, until the pluck at the end of his line should give token that the fish had bitten...he was certain that Dawes possessed tobacco; the thing was to find it upon him.

The two incidents above are sufficiently similar to consider as strong circumstantial evidence. Indeed, it is difficult to view these two stories and not consider this aspect of Clark's work as being sourced from the Cash material.

5. Folio 371. Price sentenced him to fifty lashes Dubbo still unflinchingly held out [he had just received in groups of fifty: over 200 lashes] and Mr Price flogged him so repeatedly, that at last the doctor had to interpose...at last obliged to yield but his punishment was not over yet. [Note: Dubbo had to then push a large grindstone for many days.]

Page 247. *He sets every man as a spy upon his neighbour: awes the more daring into obedience by the display of a ruffianism more outrageous...raising the worst scoundrels...to office, compels them to find 'cases' for punishment. Perfidy is rewarded...if resistance be offered, the man resisting can be knocked down by a blow from the searcher's bludgeon...indiscriminating harshness prevails everywhere and the lives of hundreds of prisoners are reduced to a continual agony of terror and self loathing.*

When these two passages are set with others, the 'ruffianism' of Price (Frere) becomes so obvious that the stories are clearly from the same source.

6. Folios 367 & 369. Price sentenced him to fifty lashes, after receiving which he was taken immediately to his gang, but dubbo [*sic*] still unflinchingly held out, and Mr Price flogged him so repeatedly, that at last the doctor had to interpose, declaring that this man was not in a fit state to receive corporal punishment...However dubbo after maintaining his ground for some considerable time, during which he suffered all the horrors of martyrdom, was at last obliged to yield but his punishment was not over yet...he was conveyed to hospital on the day before his last sentence had expired. However, after some care on the part of the doctor he recruited [*sic*] a little and by and by was discharged from hospital...

Page 256 & 257. 'You shall have fifty lashes, my man,' said Frere. 'We'll see how you'll feel then!' The fifty were duly administered, and the commandant called the next day. The rebel was still mute. 'Give him fifty more, Mr Troke. We'll see what he's made of.' One hundred twenty lashes were inflicted in the course of the morning,

but still the sullen convict refused to speak. He was then treated to fourteen days' solitary...he was sent back for another fourteen days and still remained obdurate was flogged again, and got fourteen days more...when brought out at the conclusion of his third confinement he was found to be in so an exhausted condition, that the doctor ordered him to hospital...indiscriminating harshness prevails everywhere and the lives of hundreds of prisoners are reduced to a continual agony.

The stubbornness of the prisoner, the frequent administering of the lash and the intervention of the doctor suggest Clarke's reliance upon Cash's description. The repetition of moving in and out of the prison cells features not only in these passages but was a feature of the Price methodology of discipline.

7. Folios 369 & 370. Having performed the required number of evolutions [sic] for the space of a week he [Dubbo] was next employed in grinding cayenne pepper in an old steel mill being obliged to wear a mask and also to have his hands covered while at work. This punishment had been more dreaded by the prisoners than any other which they could be subjected to short of death. Dubbo however continued to work the mill for three months, and being under the impression that Mr Price was about to keep him so employed while he was on the Island, he supplicated for mercy and Mr Price after accomplishing this purpose appointed the vanquished Dubbo as a Sub-overseer in charge of the water cart...Mr Price not feeling satisfied that he had as yet completely subdued Dubbo, picked out some of the most incorrigible characters on Norfolk Island and placed them in his charge at the water cart....and should Dubbo fail to bring them to notice Mr Price would then have an opportunity of giving him another spell at the pepper mill.

Page 247. ...our new Commandant, who as I expected, is Captain Maurice Frere...has realized my worst anticipations. He is brutal, vindictive, and domineering. His knowledge of prisons and prisoners gives him an advantage...he much resembles a murderous animal. He has but one thought—to keep the prisoners in subjection. 'I was sent here to keep order...and by God, sir, I'll do it!'...He sets every man as a spy upon his neighbour, awes the more daring into obedience by the display of a ruffianism more outrageous than their own, and raising the worst scoundrels in the place to office, compels them to find 'cases' for punishment. Perfidy is rewarded.

Although the passage from Clarke does not have the same story line, its portrayal of Frere's *modus operandi* strongly resembles that of Cash's Price. Emphasis on the use of harsh discipline to crush dissent is played many times in *For the Term*... as it is in Cash's work. The reward of easier work after submission to the authorities is a recurring theme. Also retribution upon the prisoner for failure to report those who broke prison edicts is a theme of both works. It seems, therefore, possible that this story was inspired by the Cash manuscript.

8. Folio 331 & 332. ...fruit which grew abundantly on the Island, [Norfolk] viz., Guavas, bananas plantains, lemons, wild grapes...in abundance...the climate is mild and genial ...throughout the year...lemons can be plucked from the trees here all the year round and the Cape Gooseberry...

Page 241. Lemon, lime and guava trees abound, also oranges, grapes, figs, bananas, peaches, pomegranates [sic] and pine-apples...

It could be argued that these fruits would have been found on any tropical island in the area at that time. However, the description appears within a few paragraphs in which both Cash and Clarke describe the barracks and the organization of the prison. (See number 8 above.) It is unlikely that this juxtaposition is merely accidental.

9. Folios 359, 371, 373. ...John Price had established a system of receiving private information no matter from what source without revealing the names of his informant...Mr Price would never feel satisfied until he fought them to lose their 'cast' as he expressed them, that is to turn around and bring their fellow prisoners up to the office on a charge whether real or imaginary. This was a great hobby of his and he never lost an opportunity of carrying this out. No prisoner under the new system was safe for a moment, being liable to be charged on private information with a crime he never committed

Pages 158 & 159. 'I beg your pardon, Meekin [prison chaplain],' says Maurice, with clumsy apology 'but I know these fellows. I've lived among 'em, I came out in a ship with 'em, I've talked with 'em, and drank with 'em, and I'm down to all their moves, don't you see. The Bible is the only book they get hold of, and texts are the only bit of learning every taught 'm [sic], and being chock full of villany [sic] and plots and conspiracy, what other books should they make use of to aid their infernal schemes but the one that the chaplain has made text-book of for 'em?' And Maurice rose in disgust, not unmixed with self-laudation...but you may rely on Frere, I assure you. He knows more about convicts than any man on the Island...I...know every turn and twist among 'em. I tell o' my maxim...set all the dogs spying on each other...I'd have it so that no prisoner should say a word to his right hand man, but his left hand man should tell me of it...make the beggars their own warders.

Frere's (Price's) knowledge of prisoners is frequently referred to in each of the works. It would appear that Frere's character mirrors Cash's Price especially in the two men's technique of insinuating themselves into the prison culture in order to establish themselves as people of undisputed power and position and using this power to suppress the prisoners. There is little room for doubt that Clarke depended heavily on Cash's 1870 edition as a valuable source. It appears that Clarke, although writing a work of fiction, recognized the value of *Adventures...* as a source of valid information which would strengthen the authenticity of his work. This conclusion is supported by Hart whose opinion is that the circumstantial evidence presented is sufficient to make a verdict of 'probable' in supporting this case.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have contended that writers have missed the important primary value in the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. At the heart of the entire work are two men, both convicts and long term detainees of the British penal system, who have been overlooked and not interpreted. Their co-work has been viewed for the most part as simple adventure tales about bushranging, prisons, prison life, convicts and escapees in New South Wales, Norfolk Island and Tasmania. As such, Cash and Burke's combined experience of nearly fifty years of incarceration, provided them with insights into the system which has been passed over. Thus, Cash's historical information and insights have been largely ignored and his primary value replaced with a series of legends and myths. It seems that no scholar has seriously considered either the manuscript or the 1870 edition and elevated their penal experiences in terms of the social history of the period of 1825-1870, the approximate period in which the two men were caught in the British penal code and its attendant institutions. The two monuments to Cash in the Hobart area, one celebrating his centenary and kindness to women, the second memorializing him as a 'brave but unfortunate Irishman', illustrate his legendary proportions.

This work has sought to expose the mythology of Cash by examining the accuracy of Cash's recall and, thereby, Cash's relevance to the history of the time. That which emerges in his narrative is a long term inmate's fresh insight as distinct from the more usual dependence on historical records and the opinions of those in charge of the system. Once the complexities of the study were made apparent and documented, it became obvious that conclusions could be made.

It is axiomatic that Abbott's approach to narrative altered the development of the entire thesis. His refreshing definition rests on the assertion that narrative is much larger and multifarious than previously assumed and is perhaps much more significant than the oral presentation of a historical incident by one person. This insight allowed a multi-track approach to examining Cash and Burke's narrative/manuscript. For example, 'narrative'

has usually been confined to the person who told a story. Abbott widened the research to allow an investigation into those various historical events that run parallel or even counter to the narrator's story. In Abbott's view, events which parallel the narrative in time and place may provide additional insights into the narrator's story. Sometimes the parallel information is, in itself, a primary source even if the information runs counter to the narrative. However, parallel information does not necessarily make the supporting information a primary source.

As Abbott suggests, parallel information may inflect the narrator's tale, adding deeper meaning and new depth; thus, that which is not part of the manuscript but analogous to it may be convincing and meaningful. For instance, the many tales by others who knew and lived under Price's lash confirm and expand upon Cash's recollections. An example of this is the narrative by illiterate convict Jeffrey who was on Norfolk Island at the same time as Cash. Thus, these inflections help validate Cash's observations. Of course, analogous material may also be rejected as not important depending on its relevance to the narration. Abbott's method allows a new freedom of investigation and even forces a researcher to be more careful when examining corresponding material.

The manuscript's journey through multiple publications was littered with textual issues and oversights. Convicts, murderers, torturers, dishonest public servants are but a few of those who were uncovered and exposed. Through this process, it was necessary to argue that illiterate Cash had the ability, intelligence and resilience to endure and retell his experiences accurately. 'Cash Recall of Names, Places and Events' (Appendix 6) lists 410 names, places and events narrated of which 262 have been validated by matching other sources with places, names and events mentioned in the manuscript. It has been presented that Cash possessed the attributes and abilities to not hold grudges towards his opponents which could cloud his recollections. An example of this is how he spoke well of John Evendon's compassion although Evendon was in charge of the pursuit during Cash's first escape from Port Arthur and who was known to be a very thorough combatant. Evendon, after arresting Cash, said:

Well Martin...come inside, and here is plenty for you to eat but do not indulge too freely. Mind I do not say this through motives of economy. I am only afraid that it would hurt you, being so long without food...I pity a man like you...¹³⁰

Also validated is the fact that an illiterate narrator can be as dependable and accurate as a trained and educated narrator.

As scribe, Burke was the initial gatekeeper whose attitudes and views, in all probability, made their mark upon the manuscript as he was Cash's amanuensis, his scribe and most certainly a co-author of the entire work. His personal views certainly would have had an impact upon how he interpreted Cash. Burke's elevated style and somewhat classical training frequently appears in the language of the narrative. It became relatively easy to separate Burke's words from Cash's as Cash was terse and matter of fact whereas Burke, at times, interrupted the flow of the story with his Victorian patina. With the records and other information at hand, I concluded that Burke was undoubtedly an alcoholic but he was mostly consistent, competent and accurate. A judgement must be made that Burke was probably a periodic drunk who functioned at a very high level at times and in periods of heavy drinking descended into the trouble maker as recorded in his convict records. At no point did I detect that he tried to dominate Cash's narrative. Through cross referencing and being mindful of the atmosphere of the place of narration, it became apparent that Cash was the dominant member of the Cash/Burke team. Burke was a faithful receiver of Cash's story and for the most part recorded it accurately. This is the highest praise a scribe can be given. This faithfulness does not take away from Burke his role of co-author as he was obviously able to put his own perspective into the text.

This work has delved into the discipline of graphology, a method of analysis not often used in historiography but no less a science than many other social sciences. Properly used, graphology can unravel nuances and ascertain the identity of the writer with certainty. Regularly misspelled and/or frequently used words and phrases can verify the writer of a work. Of course, hand writing has almost disappeared in favour of computers. This has moved graphology to subtle new fields. The use of lexicography in examining the style of language, repeated words and phrases and distinctive sentence patterns is

¹³⁰ Cash, Folio 157.

useful in an examination of the identity of authorship. The use of 'global search' was valuable in order to uncover intrusions by others. The skills needed to interpret have developed slightly more complicated procedures and the use of either graphology or lexicography can lead to similar conclusions. With Cash as a narrator and Burke as a scribe the question arises whether the Cash story is biography or autobiography. A case can be made for both. I have come to the conclusion that there are two authors: Cash and Burke. The evidence is overwhelming that Burke has moulded Cash's recollections into a coherent narrative thus the definition of biography may be applied. It must be stated that the narrative could not exist without Cash's participation. This would mean that even if Burke scribed and modified Cash's narration the story belonged to Cash. I am therefore also of the opinion that the work should be viewed as an autobiography/biography.

It has been necessary to utilize other disciplines. The method of triangulation and use of circumstantial evidence have been applied when possible. By seeking gatekeepers who decided what went into various editions or what Burke may have decided to use or not use, the role of other interventionists emerged. The hidden agenda of these gatekeepers had to be considered. Some interventionists, such as those at the place of narration, may have added their own stories, tales, or poetry which may be considered additional to the narrative. However, at this point Abbott's theory that non-narrative inflects narrative demonstrates that seemingly extraneous material may be considered pertinent to the Cash story.

The *Addenda* presented unique questions. It is part of the manuscript but, being a collection of other writings by citizens, bureaucrats and journalists, there was an initial puzzle as to where it belonged in the Cash/Burke manuscript. At first examination, it appeared to be merely a loose collection of writings. When Abbott's concept of narrative was applied, the *Addenda* took on new meaning. The omitted 28,985 words provide deeper insight into the time of Cash's bushranging days and trial and thus to the historical record. In short, the *Addenda* is important to a validation of Cash's story. Because it was written by others, little time was initially spent in evaluating content as this did not seem

pertinent to the total study. However, according to Abbott's approach, the parallel documents of the *Addenda* are significant to the Cash/Burke manuscript.

An important aspect of this study is the restoration of omissions. Although some of the shorter passages are not particularly important, the longer passages are significant. Cash's observations of life under bondage, as an escapee and as a prisoner describe the social interplay which occurred in the lower class and prison populations. Particularly interesting is the interplay of social solidarity and betrayal. This emerged from the basic need to survive which brought about support and treachery. This extended to the upper class as shown in the retribution given to Shone for neglect of perceived duty. This retribution extended to all landowners who were deemed cowards in not protecting their properties from bushrangers.

By removing some of the longer passages, the cruelty of the penal system was suppressed. This cruelty is expressed through Cash's portrayal of Price and his excessively harsh punishment such as the torture bed and the black gag. Price's methods extended to the manipulation of convicts and overseers into betrayal of their peers. The result was a dichotomy within the prison population. As with the lower classes the need to survive was paramount. Survival meant mutual support and opportunism at the expense of others. The very act of removing material signifies the division within the larger population of penal Australia. This is extended by Cash, revealing a pyramid of disparity from officialdom, the landed gentry, the lower classes and the prison population. This view could come only from an insider.

The most pleasing and surprising aspect of this research was to discover that Cash's narrative and his mythological status became part of the background in Clarke's *For the Term....* While remaining a novel, Clarke's work is a reasonably accurate account in those passages which rely on Cash's narrative. This, of course, does not elevate Clarke's work past fiction. It does, however, provide historical elements and it is used by Clarke as a primary source.

I was not able to prove beyond doubt that the Cash narrative was performed in the Lord Rodney Hotel. However, circumstantial evidence suggests that such was the possible case. While this does not prove the Lord Rodney Hotel was the exact location, it certainly points to a similar venue. Bawdy public houses were most likely very familiar to Burke, Cash and friends. Established drinkers would inevitably be drawn toward their drunken mates in a rough pub. The atmosphere of these venues would certainly impact upon the tone and content of the finished document. It is difficult to imagine that such stories as the hanging of William Westwood with his eleven conspirators and their burial outside a consecrated burial ground would have been generated from a church hall. Of course, there is the possibility that the story could have been told in friend Molloy's house, but given their *modus operandi*, Cash and Burke may have preferred an audience of anti-establishment, pro-Irish, anti-English ex-convicts who would most likely buy them a drink. Thus, I hypothesize that because the place of narration was probably a pub such a venue would not have been frequented by the upper classes nor Cash's *bete' noir*, the gentry.

Of course, such a comprehensible and elegantly written manuscript could not have been written in the confines of a vulgar pub. It is assumed, therefore, that Burke's notes were then taken to another place for final writing. My supposition continues that the direction the story took was heavily influenced by those to whom it was told: a series of tales tilting towards Irish nationalism and stitched together by the strong personalities of Cash and Burke. One can only muse what Cash's tale might have been if he sat at his kitchen table in Glenorchy and recounted his adventures to Father Therry, the only priest he admired. Undoubtedly, it would be a very different story. There can be no doubt that assessing the place of telling or writing is a valuable tool in understanding a manuscript such as Cash and Burke's.

The treatment of convicts on Norfolk Island is not a key objective of this thesis, but it is an important side-issue. However, state-sponsored torture becomes very apparent upon the restoration of omissions, especially those in the Norfolk Island section. These omissions reveal that mind play was central to Price's methodology and he played the

game very well: the black gag, the torture bed and the crushing of cayenne pepper pods are but three methods employed by Price. Although the idea of state-sponsored torture is challenged by some historians, it must be remembered that Price was appointed by the state because of his firm opinions about the control of convicts and was elevated to the administration of prisons in the state of Victoria after his disastrous time on Norfolk Island. The question of whether or not there was state-sponsored torture on Norfolk Island is certainly a valid area of examination. There is little doubt that the treatment of convicts on Norfolk Island and Port Arthur kept some criminals under control by the use of harsh punishment. At worst these penal institutions were torture factories.

Throughout this study, the temptation was to pay little attention to additional material such as a non-existent volcano or a fanciful method of fishing, but upon deeper consideration this material, although in essence fanciful, sheds light on the social and emotional climate of men under bondage. By examining these seemingly extraneous materials and putting them into rough hierarchical order, new insights may develop and holistic images emerge. Accordingly, by applying Abbott's theory, this interspersed data allows for extrapolations which help develop a fuller approach to an interpretation of Cash's tales. The outcome is the assurance that Cash's narrative should be seen as buttressing old information, the value of which is the unfolding of insights into the social climate of the convict class during the mid-third of nineteenth century colonial Australia.

POSTSCRIPT

While articles and books have been written on the subject of torture, there has been no work of which I am aware that has examined torture holistically in relation to Price on Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land; nor has there been a serious effort to develop an expanded definition of what constitutes torture when examining the Price period. By using a somewhat narrow definition, a number of recent writers such as Robson have challenged a widely held idea that torture was not uncommon in Norfolk Island or Port Arthur prisons. Some scholars would interpret the practice of expulsion for life from home, family and friends to an unknown land as a type of torture. Others would contend that torture must involve physical harm. Still others would argue that torture has a legitimate use and should be state-sponsored in order to extract information and to instil obedience. Accepting the concept that both expulsion and physical harm constitute torture, there can be no doubt that the moment a prisoner set foot on the hulks the torture had begun. While the torture of expulsion continued, physical torture was a practice in convict prisons.

The practice of transporting logs by means of a human 'caterpillar' was, without doubt, torture due to the infliction of the pain of hunger, weight of the log, keeping pace and the frequent use of the lash. Add to this the practice of forcing men to sleep in sodden clothes in a cell in which a tall man could neither stand nor lie down in comfort. If not officially decreed, officialdom condoned these practices by those in command such as Price. A modern parallel is the use of water boarding and sensory deprivation in the Guantanamo Bay US Marine Base. I see the possibility of a quantitative and qualitative study comparing the use of state torture at Guantanamo Bay, Port Arthur and Norfolk Island.

It was not possible to find a historian who readily accepted the use of graphology or lexicography as appropriate for an examination of a manuscript and, indeed, as a historical research tool. Disagreeing with this negative view, I employed both in my examination of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. However, I did not use the entire

disciplines. It is my opinion that, because graphology has been confined mostly to criminal investigation, a useful tool has been lost to historians. Indeed, my validation of the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript would not have been achieved without some use of the techniques of graphology and lexicography. In the current computer age, the analysis of word usage and phraseology is a relatively simple process and historians have much to gain from such examinations.

The literature of oral history also opens a possible avenue of further research concerning the relationship between oral history and memory in a manuscript such as the Cash/Burke work. This could not be properly encompassed within the scope of this thesis because of the complexity of the topic.

Cash's observations of Aborigines and their methods of warfare could certainly produce a fruitful area of study. It was particularly difficult to assess the truthfulness of the battle around the hut at which hundreds of Aborigines were allegedly killed. Nor can it be dismissed that some Aboriginal tribes used the fishing methods described in the manuscript. This should be examined from a social history viewpoint.

The frontispiece of the original 1870 edition gives the sponsors as 'a number of respectable and influential colonists'. This vague identification deserves further research to hopefully reveal the individuals involved. Who they were and why they financed the original publication presents an intriguing possibility for deeper research. They may have been simply seeking monetary gain or perhaps they felt Cash's grim depiction of life under the penal system was valuable to an anti-capital punishment campaign. Another possibility is that there was a desire for a Tasmanian bushranger hero in the tradition of Captain Thunderbolt.

It may be said that enough has been written about the convict period concerning New South Wales. Such works as Harris' *Settlers and Convicts...*¹ and Cunningham's *Two*

¹ Alexander Harris, *Settlers and Convicts...*, p.17.

*Years...*² are particularly cogent to this subject. However, the narrative is interesting in its revelation of Cash's adaptation to convict farm work, other labourers, old lags and new assignees. Cash's intimate portrayal of the relationship between convicts, overseers and masters, such as in cattle-duffing and the rounding up of sheep or cattle whilst on foot, reveals interesting interplay between the classes. Adjusting to a life of penal servitude under the command of the landed gentry and the social adaptation arising from this circumstance offers a subject for deeper investigation. Some of the circumstances in which convicts lived, their deprivations and the strategies they developed are revealed by Cash. Their lack of freedom and creature comforts describe a social under-class controlled by the aristocracy. Comparing Cash's views with those of others such as Jeffrey's and Porter's, there is ample room to better discover how the two worlds of the elite and the deprived related and conflicted.

Because the narrative reveals little about Cash's time in New Zealand, this thesis has spent almost no time on this episode. Some theories suggest Cash was a policeman, a pimp and in and out of gaol; however, there is no clear evidence to support these hypotheses. Another theory has Cash involved in the New Zealand Wars. Beyond dispute is that he returned to Tasmania with enough money to buy a small farm in Glenorchy. The whereabouts of his wife and son during the period of Cash's absence is a mystery, which opens another research possibility. Also, research into the relationship between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand from the time of transportation until Tasmania achieved statehood has very productive possibilities.

A personal interest is in the tragic story of Rocky Whelan. This story is in need of examination as an example of the human consequences of a harsh and unforgiving system and, indeed, state-sponsored torture. Whelan, an Irish convict from Cash's home town, provides an example of the effects of the British penal system's determination to exact what it believed to be justice by engendering total obedience through psychological and physical humiliation. Although frequently flogged, consigned to solitary confinement

² Peter Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales*, first published 1827 (Sydney, 1966).

and subjected to the black gag, Whelan remained defiant to Price's determination to bring him to heel. Upon the break up of Norfolk Island, Whelan found himself back in Van Diemen's Land where he became a serial killer whose specialty was to shoot his victims in the head before robbing them of items which were frequently of no value. Whelan was eventually captured and hanged, but the question remains as to who was the real criminal. Was Whelan born crazed and destined to live a life of crime or was he the product of a harsh penal system? The tragedy of Rocky Whelan is encapsulated in the letter he dictated on the night prior to his execution. It reads:

I, John Whelan, alias Rocky Whelan, condemned to suffer tomorrow morning for robberies on William Kearney and Richard Carpenter, which I acknowledge to have committed with deep sorrow, and in order to make what reparation [*sic*] I can, do solemnly declare that I did, and being then lone, commit the following murders:

1. An Elderly man, between Brown's river and North West Bay, about two months ago. I shot him in the head and robbed him.
2. A young man (I learned afterwards his name was Dunn) on the Huon Track, about six or seven weeks after Carpenter's robbery. I shot him in the head, and struck him on the head with the butt of the Pistol, then robbed him.
3. An Elderly man at Bagdad six or seven weeks ago. I shot him in the head, and then robbed him.
4. A young man on the Westbury road, about a week after the last Murder. I shot him in the head, and took away a few shillings.
5. A Hawker near Cleveland, about three days before I was taken. I shot him in the head, and took away several things, most of which are now at the Police Office.

The full particulars of these murders I have given to the Very Revd. W. Hall, Vicar General, and the Revd. W. P. Bond, hoping that the Bodies of yet undiscovered may be found.

I most humbly and sincerely beg forgiveness of the friends of these victims of my cruelty, and hope that the Almighty will have mercy on my poor soul.

His
John X Whelan
 Mark

Taken before me in the Gaol at Hobarton [*sic*] this 25 June 1855 at five minutes past seven o'clock in the evening having been first read out to Whelan who declares that the same is true. 'W. T. N. Champ

It should be noted that the Revd W. P. Bond, the Very Revd W. Hall, Vicar General, and W. T. N. Champ were all supervisory officials on Norfolk Island. The sadness does not

end with Whelan's hanging. Approximately one month before Whelan's death, a funeral was held in Bothwell, a village in the Tasmanian midlands. The man was the local miller and the head of a very large and productive family. The 'Elderly man at Bagdad' was Thomas Axford. His tomb stone reads:

In Memory of
THOMAS AXFORD
who departed this life, May 8, 1855
Aged 67 years

I am now ready to be offered and the time
Of my departure is at hand. I have fought
A good fight, I have finished my course,
I have kept the faith. Hereafter there is
Laid for me a crown of righteousness.

Martin Cash, a highway robber, house breaker, escapee under arms, resister of arrest, killer and would-be killer a mystery remains how Cash was able to escape the usual state retributions: the lash, the triangle, the black gag, the torture bed or the hangman's noose. Perhaps he had some quality of personality few other convicts had, perhaps there were other convicts who were also able to avoid such exigencies or perhaps he was simply lucky. An answer to this conundrum requires new research as Cash would not have been the only one of his kind who escaped these punishments.

An investigation into the exact place of Cash's narration opens further research possibilities. This also applies to the place of writing. The atmosphere of a possible rollicking waterfront pub would have had an indisputable effect upon the finished manuscript. Given Burke's controlled penmanship and elevated prose, such a venue as a waterfront pub is not a likely place of final composition. Taking this concept into a larger arena would undoubtedly provide additional insights into other manuscripts. An example is the signing of the Peace Treaty at the end of World War I. If the Peace Treaty had been signed in London instead of Versailles, World War II might have been avoided; however, because the treaty was negotiated in France, maximum punishment was exacted upon Germany which was a major cause of World War II. Likewise, if the Nicean Creed (325 A.C.E.) had been promulgated in Arian Egypt instead of Nicea, the belief system of

western religion would have been vastly altered. The point being made is that, in manuscript studies, strong emphasis should be given to the place where the manuscript was narrated and/or written and the social environment surrounding the narration and writing.

Above all, this investigation of the Martin Cash/James Lester Burke narrative/manuscript has hopefully released new data and has buttressed already known information. It is anticipated that some future scholars will discover that two old lags' combined five decades of convict servitude in His/Her Britannic Majesty's penal system in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island are helpful in an examination of a dreadful period in Colonial Australia and will lead to other areas of research.

APPENDIX 1

PRINTED EDITIONS OF *THE ADVENTURES OF MARTIN CASH*

Information includes salient material on frontispiece, verso, numbers where applicable and introduction. These statistics are found in the State Library of Tasmania and The University of Tasmania Library System. After the initial first edition of 1870, there were twelve more editions to 1981.

Note: the following editions are verbatim records from the State Library of Tasmania and have not been altered in any way.

1. Cash, Martin. *The Adventures of Martin Cash*, Comprising a faithful account of his exploits, while a bushranger under arms in Tasmania in company with Kavanagh and Jones in the year of 1843. Edited by James Lester Burke, Mercury Steam Press Office, Hobart Town, 1870. Price three shillings.
2. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the Bush Ranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4*, 2nd ed, J. Walch & Sons, Hobart, n.d., second edition published 1880.
3. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the Bush Ranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4*, 2nd ed J. Walch & Sons, Hobart, 1880. This book was published at the same time as #2. It appears there were two runs of 1,000 copies each.
4. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the bushranger of Vandiemens [sic] Land 1843*, A personal narrative of his exploits in the bush and his experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, Fifteenth thousand, Tasmania, J. Walch and Sons, Launceston, n.d., 1890 is publication date of this third edition.
5. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4 [sic]*. A personal narrative of his exploits in the bush and his experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, Twenty-second thousand, With illustrations, Tasmania, J. Walch & Sons, Launceston, A.W. Birchall & Sons, 1911.
6. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4*. A personal narrative of his exploits in the bush and his experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, Twenty-fourth thousand with illustrations, Tasmania, Hobart, J. Walch & Sons Pty. Ltd., 1929.
7. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4*. A

personal narrative of his exploits in the bush and his experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, Twenty-sixth thousand with illustrations, Tasmania, Hobart, J. Walch & Sons Pty.Ltd., 1940.

8. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4*. A personal narrative of his exploits in the bush and his experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, Twenty-eight thousand with illustrations, Verso lists as sixth edition, Tasmania, Hobart, J. Walch & Sons, 1954.
9. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4*. A personal narrative of his exploits in the bush and his experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, 32nd thousand with illustrations, Verso lists as seventh ed, Tasmania, Hobart, J. Walch & Sons, 1961.
10. Cash, Martin, *Martin Cash, the bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4*. A personal narrative of his exploits in the bush and his experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, 43rd thousand with illustrations, Verso lists as tenth edition, printed by Mercury-Walch Pty. Ltd. for the publishers J. Walch & Sons Pty. Ltd., Hobart, Tasmania, 1975.
11. Cash, Martin. *Martin Cash, the bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1843-4*. A personal narrative of his exploits while in the bush and his experiences at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, 53rd Thousand with illustrations, Printed by Mercury-J.Walch publishers, Verso lists as twelfth ed, Walch & Sons. Pty. Ltd., Hobart, Tasmania, 1981.

The bibliographic information can be confusing as sometimes editions were numbered, dated, counted and sometimes not.

The first edition of *The Adventures...* made spelling and some grammatical and organizational changes but maintained the content of the manuscript. Ten years later (1880) saw the first abbreviated edition.

The Verso of the last edition of 1981 lists the years of publication since 1870. An anomaly arises as the 1940 edition does not appear in the list of Impressions.

First Impression	1870
Second Impression	1880
Third Impression	1890
Fourth Impression	1911
Fifth Impression	1929
Unnumbered	1940
Sixth Impression	1954

Seventh Impression	1961
Eighth Impression	1967
Ninth Impression	1972
Tenth Impression	1975
Eleventh Impression	1977
Twelfth Impression	1981

Note: A total of thirteen editions, including the 1940 edition, was published from 1870-1981.

Cash's popularity appeared to increase during the second half of the twentieth century. The last edition in 1981 was followed by *Uncensored....* Two other editions of *Uncensored...* followed with runs of three thousand each. Another edition is expected in 2012. Including *Uncensored...*, the total run of all editions approximates 65,000.

The 1870 edition included poetry which was not replicated in any of the following editions. The Verso reads:

THE ADVENTURES OF MARTIN CASH, comprising a faithful account of his exploits while a bushranger under arms in Tasmania in Company with Kavanagh and Jones. Edited by James Lester Burke, Hobart Town: printed by the 'Mercury' Steam Press, 1870.

The subjoined sketches of bushranging life in Van Diemen's Land were strung together in the form of a narrative at the solisitation [*sic*] of a number of respectable and influential colonists in Tasmania, Sydney and Melbourne, particularly the former territory.

The following poem is also included:

The blighted branches of the tree,
If topped with care, a strength may give,
By which the rest shall bloom and live,
All greenly fresh and wildly free;
But if the lightning in its wrath
The waving boughs with fury scathe,
The massy trunk the ruin feels,
And never more a leaf reveals.

APPENDIX 2

WILLIAM GATES' ACCOUNT OF THE KIMBERLEY ROBBERY

The following passage from Gates' *Recollections*... verifies Cash's observation that Kimberley was a heavy drinker and not in control of his property. The value of the passage also verifies Cash's account of the hold-up of Kimberley's property and gives new insight into Cash's treatment of women:

About three months after my coming with him [Gates worked for Kimberley as a convict farm worker]...we anticipated an attack from those same Bush Rangers that were hunted whilst I was at Oatlands. They were Irishmen, of the names of Cash, Jones and Caverner [Kavanagh], and had grown quite bold and daring in their depredations. There was a constable who resided in part of the time with Kimberly, and against whom these men had a particular grudge for informing of their whereabouts some months before. We knew they were prowling about the vicinity from the fact of several recent robberies. My employer had been absent for two or three days on a ~~spree~~"spree". Returning ...at night, he stopped at the kitchen fire to warm and chat... The other members of the household were abed. The old man was pretty chirp in his liquor...About midnight I heard a noise at the men's huts, and remarked to Kimberly that I thought the Bush Rangers were there...It must be them, I think, the noise is so unusual,... ~~Sure~~ "Sure enough, they have come," ejaculated the old man...The Rangers had surprised the men at the huts, and secured their hands behind them. This done, they marched them towards the house, denuded of every garment but their shirts. As they approached, the Rangers, demanded where the constable slept ...Jones stepped to the window and commanded him to rise, when he fired—his ball passing through the open door of the bedroom and lodging in the mantle of the fire place the kitchen door was flung open, and muzzles of two guns presented....command to stir not, lest death should be the result. Our hands were then secured behind us. The cook, butler, gardener, etc., were also secured, and the whole—the men from the huts as well as those from the house—marched into the parlor; all in their shirts save Kimberly and myself... guard of Caverner. Cash demanded of the old man where the constable was, to which he had gone to the village and had not yet returned. He next demanded where the money was. Kimberley replied he had not a shilling in the house... payment of debts...

They had not gone far in their rummage before they came upon the daughters, whom they secured as they had the men, and ushered them into the parlor in their undress. It was piteous to hear their cries and entreaties, and witness the

anguish of their mortification. ...Cash and Jones discovered nothing but a gold watch, a little silver plate, and a few minor articles...besides a very nice new suit of clothes...They then proceeded to the store, where they filled a sack with tea, sugar, flour, ham, etc., which they brought into the parlor, where they selected the largest man of the company to carry the 'swag'...for them to the bush. The choice fell upon the gardener...He plead for an excuse, telling them of his affliction; but it was all the same to them, for go he must, ...After they were gone, [Cash and Kavanagh] Jones untied my own hands, and gave us the injunction to remain perfectly quiet for two hours...unbound them all, and immediately despatched a messenger on horseback to Oatlands with the news...

APPENDIX 3

MASTER MUSTER FRANK BELSTEAD'S 1896 LETTER

Following is an extract from Frank Belstead's private letter of 1896 relating his experiences with Cash on Norfolk Island c.1854, where Belstead was Master Muster. Page two is unfortunately missing but Belstead does verify much of what Cash had said in his narrative. Belstead was appointed as a minor functionary of the Tasmanian Government in Westbury.

An unfortunate aspect of this letter is that it is partial and we may not guess at what the second page held. An interesting aspect of Belstead's letter is that his comments do not present Price negatively or positively even though the context was one where Belstead did not have to protect Price's reputation. However, the partial letter shows two things. First, Cash was accurate about being a constable on the island. Second, it shows how Cash hid some of his involvement with the constabulary in his narrative. Putting this letter together with Cash's narrative, it may be said that there was nothing mentioned by Cash which Belstead contradicted. The value of the letter is that it helps to validate Cash's accuracy while also indicating that Cash submitted to Price's regime.

Frank Belstead:

...authorized to issue a trout licences Westbury..

"Francis Belstead Assistant Overseer, Norfolk Island (5050/28 1851).

Sept 1851 CSI 50/29 (1852) Asst. Overseer.

Port Arthur 28 March 1856 stats (1857).

Clark 3rd Class, Westbury Police Dept 1 May 1858.

Stats 1858-1862.

Licence to marry Margaret Jessie Crombie in St. Andrews Westbury 16 April 1860.

(Source: General Index, AOT Hobart.)

Frank Belstead's letter of 1896 (the second page is missing) reads:

When Martin Cash was reprieved he was sent down to Norfolk Island. John Price was the Commandant when Cash arrived by the Lady Franklin, Price sent for him. After his custom he addressed him by his Christian name [or by his nickname if he had one]. I was in the office as I heard what passed Price began to chaff him. He said, 'Well, Martin, you've come here, & heard you are

going to make a long stay with us. 'Yes, sir,' said Martin. 'Well,' said Price, 'I know all about you and if you'll act on the square, I'll lay up to you.' He went on, 'It's a bargain, is it?' 'Yes sir,' said Cash. 'Well,' said Price, 'remember that if you make a mistake I'll come down hard on you just as I would on anybody else. But if you conduct yourself I'll give you every chance.'

In a very short time ... Cash was made sub-overseer. This gave him the privilege of sleeping in a hut, instead of being locked up in the barracks with the ordinary prisoners. He had tea, sugar, and could smoke...no small privilege on Norfolk Island.

Then he was advanced to the post-- of overseer.

In a short time he got his probation ticket & was made sub constable which meant more liberty & better pay. Then he became a constable.

It was not long before he got his ticket-of-leave. He had his duty as Constable with increased pay. When off duty he could go about where he liked & see friends. It seemed a very short time before Cash got his conditional.

Note: The above items are congruent with Cash's observations concerning rewards given by Price to recalcitrants who became compliant. Most notable in Belstead's letter is that it is apparent that Cash, by the time Belstead arrived on Norfolk Island to be the Master Muster, had given in to physical and emotional pressures. In this respect, Cash was similar to Dubbo and Pine Tree Jack (fellow convicts on Norfolk Island) in that the decision was made to back away from confrontation in order to secure better treatment. It is to be noticed that Cash tried to persuade Kavanagh to do the same as well. It should also be mentioned that Belstead does not support Cash's view of Price as a malicious commandant but corroborates rewards given to targeted convicts who finally complied. The question may be asked as to how we may be sure that Belstead is accurate in his appraisal and/or memory.

Verification consists of:

1. Frank Belstead came to Norfolk Island after Cash had already been on the island for a number of years.
2. Cash was on the island before Price arrived.
3. Belstead's reportage is consistent with how Cash reported himself and how others reported Price, especially Prices' use of the word, 'Well' as a sentence opener. Price's use of cant talk such as, '...act on the square...' and 'I'll lay it up to you' is congruent with both Cash's and Jeffrey's presentation of Price's dialogue.

4. Belstead's observations, although given almost fifty years after his time on Norfolk Island, are consistent with Cash's narrative/manuscript.
5. Belstead's letter helps to corroborate Cash's memory.
6. Belstead's comments are congruent with other information about Cash on Norfolk Island including Cash's comments about himself.

APPENDIX 4

CASH'S LIFE AND DEATH

The following details are not a complete picture of the life of Cash. Many more illustrations could be produced. However, the thrust of this appendix is to verify Cash's accurate recall and the historical value that may be attained by careful use of his narrative/manuscript. To do this, his existence and time in history must be validated. The obituary from the *Mercury* reads in part '...that Cash in the year 1870 published in book form an account of his adventures from which we glean the following...'. The obituary also hints that there could be reasons for not trusting the account fully when it reads '...according to his own account...'. Cash's ease with the truth at times has been noted but has not altered his accurate recall of events and people. This appendix illustrates that thirty-four years after he was tried and sent to Norfolk Island, his prominence and notoriety were still part of the Tasmanian consciousness. Other statistics about Cash follow his obituary.

From Cash's Convict Record¹

1. Gaoled at Wexford, Ireland March 1827² at age eighteen years five months.
2. Very ruddy, freckled with brown/red hair.
3. Head small and round.
4. Forehead low.
5. Eyes blue.
6. Nose small.
7. Chin small.
8. Mouth large.
9. Remarkably long feet and considered swift runner.
10. Six months in gaol in Ireland before transported from Cork to New South Wales, (1827).
11. Arrived Sydney 30 January 1828.
12. Cash assigned to Mr George Bowman of Richmond who in 1820 owned 7,566 acres of land, 20 horses, 309 cattle and 1,666 sheep. Cash worked for Bowman for three years.
13. Six feet tall.

¹ Cash, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~austashs/convicts/tas_con.htm, accessed 13 December 2010.

² Cash's complete Convict Record is found in Figure 1 and Figure 2, pp. 70-71.

14. No negative marks on Cash's convict record to 1834. Cash and Elisa arrived in Van Diemen's Land 10 Feb 1837 on the *Francis Freeling*.

Cash Obituary

Death of Martin Cash³

The celebrated bushranger, Martin Cash died at his residence, Glenorchy, on Sunday last. We learn that Cash went to the Lord Rodney Hotel, New Wharf, on the evening of the 10th instant and informed the landlord, Mr Samuel Weir, that in consequence of severe illness, he had applied for admission into the General Hospital, but had been refused Mr Weir allowed him to remain at the hotel until the following Monday, when he returned to his home at Glenorchy. While at the Lord Rodney Hotel the deceased was attended by Dr Crouch. Mr Weir went out to Glenorchy yesterday morning when he learned that Cash had expired on Sunday morning. It will be remembered that Cash in the year 1870 published in book form an account of his adventures, from which we glean the following particulars. He was born in the year 1810, in the town of Enniscorthy, Wexford, Ireland. Cash's career as a young man was, according to his account, a series of events calculated to develop into the more serious phases of crime, and he was subsequently convicted of shooting a love rival named Jessop, for which offence he was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. After a brief incarceration in the Cork gaol, Cash was sent with 170 other convicts by the ship *Marquis of Huntly* to Botany Bay, New South Wales. They arrived at Sydney on February 10th, 1828, subsequent to the assignment or hiring out system had come into operation. Cash was 'assigned' to Mr G. Bowman, of Richmond. He subsequently made his escape, and in 1837 came to Hobart Town. He was not long out of the hands of the authorities of the law and for the next few years he led a prison life which was ultimately broken by his escape from Port Arthur in company with Jones and Kavanagh in December, 1842. After remaining at large for nearly twelve months, during which period he was at the head of a band of bushrangers, and was the terror of the whole colony, Cash was again captured but not till after the most strenuous exertions were made to again lay hands on him, and a reward of 200 guineas (with a free pardon and a free passage from the colony, if required) was offered to any person who would give information that would lead to his capture. In September, 1843, he was tried and convicted of murder and sentenced to death. He was, however, afterwards reprieved and sent to Norfolk Island, where he remained till that establishment was broken up when he had the satisfaction of bidding adieu to what he terms that 'island of despair,' and returning to Tasmania, where he was appointed by the late Hon. W. E. Nairn to take charge of the Government Gardens. On resigning that situation he went to New Zealand for four years after which he returned to Tasmania, 'and,' he adds, 'having saved a little money I purchased a farm at Glenorchy where I resolved to pass the remainder of my days in the calm and

³ 'Death of Martin Cash', *The Mercury* (28 August 1877) p. 2.

tranquil enjoyment of rural retirement. 'Cash continued to devote himself to farming pursuits up till the time of his death.'

General Events in the Life of Cash

The following has been collected from newspaper accounts, citizen's letters, government records, prison records and Cash's narrative/manuscript.

1. Sir John Franklin arrived in VDL one month earlier on 6 January 1837.
2. Cash and Elisa worked for the Stieglitz family at Fingal until May 1839.
3. Moved to Campbell Town where Cash worked until 1839.
4. Cash suspected and charged with theft of six eggs from W. Bedford of Campbell Town. Brought to Launceston 24 March 1840 and found guilty. Cash was given seven years servitude and time on road gang.
5. Cash escaped road gang near Richmond 1840.
6. Captured near Oatlands and given eighteen months and sent to chain gang for nine more months.
7. Cash escaped Richmond gaol winter of 1840.
8. Cash and Elisa sailed to D'Entrecasteaux Channel and worked on dairy farm.
9. Went to Hobart for back pay from dairy farm and captured.
10. Appeared before John Price, magistrate 1840.
11. Tried in Launceston for theft 1840.
12. Sentenced to Port Arthur for three years in June 1842.
13. Escaped Port Arthur gaol and captured a few days later 10 December 1842.
14. Sentenced to eighteen months on chain gang and stone quarries at Port Arthur 1842.
15. Escaped with Kavanaugh and Jones 26 December 1842.
16. Gang raided Cawthorne Farm, Tom Shone's farm, *Sherwin* property February-March 1843.
17. Thirty-nine soldiers and two officers from the Fifty-First Regiment of the Kings Own Rifles proceed to hunt for Cash and gang. Black Trackers from New South Wales joined the hunt. Elisa visits 5 April 1843.
18. Cash and gang hide on Mt. Dromedary or at the B—n (Bryan) family cottage on Crooked Billet Hill, Bridgewater.
19. Gang raids Capt. Horton's and other farms 1843.
20. Cash suspects Elisa of infidelity. Takes trip to Hobart, possibly to kill her August 1843.
21. Cash captured Hobart Town on Brisbane St. outside the Old Commodore Inn 29 August 1843 and charged with the murder of Constable Winstanley.
22. Cash tried and sentenced to death and dissection 1 September 1843.
23. Reprieved and sent to Norfolk for ten years 1844.
24. Cash meets Price on Norfolk Island, resulting in serious confrontations, 1844-1854.
25. Cash gives in to Price and becomes a constable.
26. Cash released to Hobart 1854.
27. Cash pardoned 1855.

28. Cash narrated story 1869—1870.
29. Cash died 21 August 1877.
30. Buried Cornelian Bay Cemetery, Hobart.

Martin Cash Death Certificate⁴

Died 21 August in the 40th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Victoria (1877).

An inquisition indented take for our Sovereign Lady the Queen at the house of Joseph Smith.

Martin Cash came by his death. Agree that the deceased died from Natural Causes namely fatty degeneration of the heart combined with inflammation of the stomach and intestines brought on by acute intemperance and not otherwise.

Note: Martin Cash died of alcohol induced degeneration.

⁴ Martin Cash Death Certificate, SC 195/7851. Ancestry.com.*AustraliaDeathIndex1787-1985* [database online] Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010, accessed 13 December 2010.

APPENDIX 5

DOCUMENT VERIFYING CASH'S ILLITERACY

Cash validated the following document by his mark of 'X'. It may therefore be assumed he was illiterate.

The Information and Complaint of Martin Cash on oath who saith...

I am a Free man I came Free to the colony, I am a labouring man, I have lately been in the employ of Mr Mc...(?) of Oatlands working for him on his farm at Prossers Plains. My wife Eliza Cash was living with me at that time about five weeks since I left my employ at Prossers Plains for a the purpose of coming to Campbelton to reside on my way across the tiers I stopped together with my wife at the Hut of two men...(?) William Clayton and Daniel McKay for the purpose of washing our linen, I remained at the Hut for five or six days during which time my wife washed the men's (William Claytons and Daniel McKay's) linen; after this I went away and left my wife at the Hut on the two men promising that 'all would be right' and that they would take care of her I came to Campbelton [*sic*] to look for work, I could not succeed in getting any and then I returned to the Hut, to fetch my wife, we left the Hut but as we were going out I saw my wife turn around and kiss the man McKay after we had proceeded about a mile I began to talk to her about it, on which she sat down on the grass and said she would not go any farther; at which time McKay came up and advised my wife to go with me if she did not like as we were not married; it came on to rain and we were induced to go back to the Hut, there was another man there when we returned called Bowry (?)...When in the evening Clayton wanted to fight me and pulled off his jacket and said he had as good a right to my wife as I had, In the morning Clayton went for a constable who said he would take my wife away on suspicion of being a runaway, I asked the constable to interfere and take my wife away, but he said as she was a free woman he could not, on this day one of the men took my wife off and went to Ross with her, where she stayed three weeks at a man's house by the name of Bumford, I knew my wife was there all the time, I went to her for four or five days following to induce her to come with me but she refused I know that one of the men paid for my wives [*sic*] board and lodging while she was at Ross, it was Clayton who paid, but I have been told by many people up in the tier that Clayton said it was not he who wanted the woman but McKay and that he takes the blame on his head as McKay is a Ticket-of-leave man. My wife and I came to some understanding and she said that if I got a place and settled she would come and live with me again, on this I sent away leaving my wife at Bumford's [*sic*] and got some work in the Eastern Marches with Mr Wm. Nichols, I returned then to fetch my wife and found (?) that she had left, I heard that she had gone to Campbelton and I went there but could not find her, I then went up to the tiers to see if my wife was at Clayton and McKay's Hut, I concealed myself in order to watch if she was there, I

staid there until dusk when I saw my wife come out of the Hut, I ran up and called to her, just as I came up I heard the men [Clayton and McKay] tell my wife to run into the back room I went into the Hut and called to her to come out. The two men spoke very friendly to me and told me to go in if I wished to speak to her, but I said no I must see her outside, she then put on her shawl and came out, and I was talking to her and asking her to come with me, when the two men came up and stood on either side of , McKay then spoke and asked my wife to come in as it was raining, I said no she will not go with you and I took hold of my wife when they both fell on me and took my wife away and knocked me down, both Clayton and McKay struck me, and on leaving Clayton gave me a kick in the face. I got up and ran after the men and got into the Hut when they again knocked me down and abused me, they then dragged me out of the door, I got up and went in again and McKay made (?) a blow at me with an axe saying 'I will knock your bloody brains out'. I ran behind my wife when I saw the blow aimed at me, and she said 'for shame' 'for shame. McKay then dropped the axe and took the leg of the table and struck me on the shoulder, my shoulder is so much hurt I cannot work. Clayton went for the constable but he was not at home, I remained at the Hut until...(?)O.C when I left leaving my wife with them at the Hut. I therefore pray that William Clayton and Daniel McKay may be bound over to keep the peace as I am in danger of my life from these men The assault was committed on Thursday the tenth of October instant.

Sworn before me this
14th day of October 1839

the mark of

(here X Cash's Mark)

Martin Cash¹

¹ Open File, AOT, 'Martin Cash Letters'. At top of letter is: *Thesis 23, EP # 20*.

APPENDIX 6

CASH'S RECALL OF NAMES, PLACES AND EVENTS

It is difficult to prove a person's mental ability from the distance of 141 years. However, it is possible to ascertain the accuracy of Cash's recall as he relates his stories from 1828-1855 by matching his use of names, places and events with government records, letters to newspapers, atlases and contemporary writings. Seventeen items have been examined in Chapter 3, *Martin Cash*. Time constraints made it impossible to verify all 410 items. However, many of the items such as the executions of John Johnson and John Russell in Folio 17 have been verified in Chapter 3. Others include: Mr George Bowman (Folio 8), Wee Bung Creek (Folios 52 & 55), Eastern Marshes of Van Diemen's Land (Folio 102), Saddle by Bothwell (Folio 123), Mr Gellibrand, lawyer in conflict with Gunn, (Folio 310) and Mr Everett, doctor on Norfolk Island (Folio 360).

As Burke did not arrive in Hobart Town until 1848 and was not incarcerated in either New South Wales or Norfolk Island, it is unlikely that he would have personal knowledge of much of the material recorded in the manuscript. The majority of the 410 entries occurred before 1848 or on Norfolk Island and it may be assumed that Burke would not have known all of them. Therefore, most recollections emanated from Cash.

The following 410 names, places and events (with some annotations) have been taken from the narrative but not the *Addenda*. They are arranged in order of Folios. I have rated the items as: V (Verified); NV (Not Verified). For verification, the items were selected from the time of Cash's tenure in Australia.

Verification was completed by searching newspapers, maps, convict records, government records and other works from the period. 'Not Verified' does not necessarily mean the item did not exist. Names may have been nicknames and therefore not traceable. Geographical names change as the years change. Records are sometimes lost. It is

possible that many of the 'Not Verified' items could be verified by deeper examination. That, however, was not deemed necessary as the 262 'Verified' items are sixty-four percent of 410 items.

	Folio Number	Rating
1. Jessop	4	NV
2. Judge Pennefather, Ireland	4	V
3. Wicklow, Ireland	6	V
4. Hyde Park Barracks, Sydney	10	.V
5. Richmond, New South Wales	7	V
6. Watchouse in Richmond	7	.V
7. Mr George Bowman, Cash's Station owner	8	V
8. Windsor, NSW	9	V
9. Hunter River NSW	10	.V
10. Wie Bung Farm	10	NV
11. Bob Clues	10	V
12. Natives Friendly	11	NV
13. Mr A. Bell	11	NV
14. Providence	11	NV
15. Liguua Vitas (fishing by Aborigines for certain fish)	15	NV
16. Captain Pike's farm, NSW	15	V
17. Brumbury Brumbury Garley (area)	16	V
18. John Johnson, Half caste, later executed in Sydney	16	V
19. John Russel, hanged with Johnson	17	V
20. Tom Hoosey, an old servant of Pike's	17	V
21. Captain Ogilvie Royal Navy	19	V
22. Mrs Ogilvie	19	V
23. Red Bank, Farm in NSW	20	NV
24. Jemmy the Locust, difficult prisoner	20	NV
25. Daley, a prisoner	21	NV
26. Little, owner of land in NSW	22	V
27. Gammon Plains	22	V
28. Giant Creek	23	NV
29. Halls Creek	24	V
30. Abbott the shepherd	25	NV
31. Jack Abbott	25	NV
32. Lady Mcquarie [<i>sic</i>]	27	V
33. Francis Purby	29	V
34. Wee Bung Creek	30	V
35. Mr Cox	35	NV
36. Mrs Kelly	38	NV
37. Mr Glimsy	39	NV
38. John Johnson, convict	47	V
39. Mrs Rockford	48	NV
40. Yarra Manbu	49	V
41. Bill Taylor, stock rider at Yarra Manbu	51	NV
42. Burn's Station	51	NV
43. Maku River	51	V
44. Brezzer? Station	51	NV
45. McQuinn	51	V
46. Nammi River	52	V
47. Blackselns	52	NV
48. Wee Bung Creek	52	V
49. Wybung Creek	55	V
50. Nortie, discovered volcanoes in NSW	56	NV
51. Gov. Macquarie	56	V
52. Cowpasture River	56	V
53. Mr Palmer	57	NV

54. Mr Brown	57	NV
55. Captain Pike	57	V
56. Mr Frazer at Cow Plains	58	NV
57. Wybung	58	V
58. Thomas Meager, wrestler at Kildare	58	V
59. Heenan	60	NV
60. Tom Payers, shoemaker at Patrick's Inn NSW	61	V
61. Beoaragiana O'Neal	61	NV
62. Cork Mick	61	NV
63. Merchant Jones	61	NV
64. Bow Plains	61	V
65. Shofield's Public House	63	NV
66. 16 Lancers of India	69	V
67. John Boodle	72	V
68. Mr Boodle, John Father drowned on Windsor River	72-3	V
69. Mudgee, the town	73	V
70. Mr Blackman, very wealthy person	73	NV
71. Mr Hall on Darkworth Creek	75	NV
72. Mr Cowans	75	NV
73. Hewson, a stock keeper	76	NV
74. Gentleman Jones of Tooree (Taree?)	76	NV
75. Maitland	76	V
76. Bathurst	79	V
77. Chief Constable Jones	80	NV
78. Mr George Cable	80	NV
79. Gorman's Hill at Bathurst	81	V
80. Goulbourn Track	81	V
81. Lake George	81	V
82. Mr Murray	81	NV
83. Captain Sturt	81	V
84. Captain Sturt property at Meadow Gang	82	V
85. Mr Phillips, the overseer for Mr Sturt	83	V
86. Beddington Farm	83	V
87. Cowpasture Bridge	84	V
88. Jacky the Jew who kept Albion Inn in Sydney	85	NV
89. Green Hills, thirty miles above Newcastle	85	V
90. Paramatta	86	V
91. Esther Carrol, sister of Margaret from Wexford	86	NV
92. Margaret Carrol, sister of above, married policeman	86	NV
93. King's Wharf changed to Queens Wharf, Sydney	88	V
94. Eighty ton ship <i>The Lady Franklin</i> , made Hobart	89	V
95. Hobart Town	89	V
96. Shipwright Williamson	89	NV
97. Battery Point Hobart	89	V
98. McCoy, hanging in gibbets at Perth, VDL	89	V
99. Launceston	90	V
100. Norfolk Plains, Longford	90	V
101. Wilmore, Longford	90	V
102. Brickyard near Wilmore's residence	90	V
103. John Baker, Kings Arms licensee on Murray, Hobart	92	V
104. Mrs Stieglitz of Fingal,	94	V
105. Break of Day River, VDL	93	V
106. Cressy, town or property	94	V
107. Mr Toosey, Longford business man	94	V
108. Campbell Town, VDL	94	V
109. Mr Kane, Hoggs pub. house, Campbell Town builder	94	V
110. Pearson, Campbell Town	94	V
111. Mustel Whyte, jailer in Campbell Town	96	NV
112. Mr McLeod, Campbell Town stole from bank,	97	V
113. Flynn, tailor in Campbell Town	98	NV
114. Miller, man got Cash in trouble and sent with Cash to court in Launceston	99	V

115. Mr Hamilton, Campbell Town, Cash landlord	99	NV
116. Mr Mulgrave, magistrate in Launceston	99	V
117. Pearce, in court with Cash, received seven years	99	V
118. Cole, in court with Cash in Launceston also	100	V
119. Cole dropped off at Willis' Corner	100	V
120. Malcolm's Huts, Richmond	100	V
121. 'Bibs' traces used by convicts to pull wagons	101	V
122. Brush Plains, near Richmond	102	V
123. The Bluff River	102	V
124. Mr McEwen, land owner	102	V
125. Eastern Marshes	102	V
126. Cleveland	103	V
127. Squeaker's Inn, Cleveland	103	V
128. Regan, the bushranger	103	V
129. Captain McKenzie	103	V
130. James Smith	104	NV
131. Tweedy, the convict	104	NV
132. Spring Hill	104	V
133. Jones the convict	105	NV
134. Spring Hill Watch House	105	V
135. Thomas East, overseer	105	NV
136. Jerusalem	106	V
137. Jerusalem	106	V
138. Wingy Wilson (overseer)	106	NV
139. Norris (Wilson's assistant)	106	NV
140. Solomon Blay (hangman)	107	V
141. James Rutherford (shoemaker & convict)	108	NV
142. Groom (convict at Jerusalem with Cash)	108	V
143. 144. N—S (Norris?)	109	NV
144. 145. Mr Tolmee(?)	113	NV
145. Mr Swift (boarding house in Campbell Town)	116	V
146 Harris' land in Campbell Town	116	NV
147. Western Tiers	116	V
148. Mr Clarke's shepherd at Ellenthorpe Hall	119	NV
149. Jericho	121	V
150. Mr Espies	121	V
151. Bothwell	123	V
152. Saddle (near Bothwell)	123	V
153. Ashton, constable at Bothwell	126	NV
154. Nowlan, constable at Bothwell	126	NV
155. Hunting Ground	127	V
156. Mr Pitt on the Jordan River, Pittwater farm	127	V
157. Angel Inn on Argyle St. Hobart Town (three items)	128	V
158. William Marriot, shoemaker Hobart	128	V
159. Mr Lloyd at Snug, farmer	129	NV
160. Mr Phillip Donahie at Snug	129	NV
161. Mr Mitchel Moore at Snug	129	NV
162. Harrington Street, Hobart	132	V
163. Ellen Morgan (Mrs Flynn) of Campbell Town	133	NV
164. David Grey, Constable of Campbell Town	133	NV
165. Benjamin Watson, Dist. Constable of Hobart	134	V
166. Hopping Brise or Brice, constable	134	NV
167. New Town Races	134	V
168. Cupps, constable	135	NV
169. Sir Charles Napier	135	V
170. Murphy, shot Wingy Gunn's arm off	136	NV
171. Tamar Brig (brigantine) Port Arthur to Hobart	138	V
172. O'Hara Booth, Commandant Port Arthur	139	V
173. Daniel Lambert, the 'dead singer'	140	V
174. 'Clubs' of brown bread, nomenclature	141	NV
175. Scilly, weak soup	141	V
176. Fat cakes	141	V

177. 'Slant', cant talk for forced gift	143	V
178. 'All was fish' cant talk for everything ok	143	NV
179. Tonkateebe, hill	143	NV
180. Stephens	143	NV
181. John Thompson, convict and tailor	144	NV
182. Brownell at Port Arthur	145	V
183. Beams carried by 'caterpillar': 12X12 X 40 feet	145	V
184. Riley, sub overseer	146	V
185. Thomas Ballard, convict	147	V
186. Pittwater	147	V
187. McManus	148	NV
188. Opossum Bay, Tasman peninsula	148	V
189. Shaw, prisoner who killed an old man at Port Arthur	148	V
190. Smith, one of the Incurables of Port Arthur	140	NV
191. Doughboy, prisoner	149	V
192. Mr McDowell, at Cash trial	149	V
193. Mt. Arthur, Port Arthur	150	V
194. Eagle Hawk Neck	150	V
195. East Bay Neck	150	V
196. Long Bay at Port Arthur	152	V
197. Cranky Jack Smith, supervisor	152	NV
198. Hangman Thompson, pulled apart by bullocks in Melb.	152	V
199. Point Puer	153	V
200. Port Phillip diggings	153	V
201. Mr Lemprier, Commissariat officer at P.A.	159	V
202. Kavanagh	161	V
203. Jones	161	V
204. Joshua Roberts, Lemprier's cook	162	NV
205. Captain Murray	163	NV
206. Coal Mines	165	V
207. Norfolk Bay	167	V
208. Martin Cope, convict and sub overseer	168	V
209. Emlie [<i>sic</i>], owned a station near East Bay Neck	170	NV
210. Narrows, Marion Bay	170	V
211. Captain Bailey	175	NV
212. Sorrell Creek	177	V
213. Prossers Plains, east of Jerusalem	178	V
214. Mr Blinkworth, five miles from Jerusalem, public house	181	V
215. Broad Marsh, by Kempton	184	V
216. Mr Panton	184	V
217. Woolpack Inn	185	V
218. New Norfolk	185	V
219. Hamilton	185	V
220. Captain John Fenton	185	V
221. Mrs Stoddart, Woolpack Inn manager	185	V
222. Dromedary Mountain	190	V
223. <i>Advertiser</i> , Hobart newspaper	190	V
224. Mr Cook, farmer in Bridgewater area	190	NV
225. Mr Crawthorne [<i>sic</i>], gentry at Dromedary	191	V
226. Mrs, B—n at Dromedary	191	NV
227. Cobbs Hill at Dromedary	193	V
228. Brighton	193	V
229. Back River	197	V
230. Mr Shone, gentry	197	V
231. Mr J. Bradshaw	197	V
232. Mr McKay	199	V
233. Mr Ferguson	199	V
234. Mr Thompson, shot by Kavanagh in New South Wales	200	NV
235. 51 st King's Own Rifles	201	V
236. Major Ainsworth, Commander of the #155	201	NV
237. Falls, on road near New Norfolk (Russell)	202	NV
238. Captain Forster, Brighton	202	NV

239. Mr Munday (Mundy?), Dromedary	203	V
240. Mr Hodgkinson, gentry at New Norfolk	204	V
241. Dunrobin property, Hamilton	204	V
242. Mr Charles Kerr, Dunrobin property	206	V
243. Mr Triffet, Ouse	208	NV
244. Mr Edol at The Bluff	215	NV
245. Tiers near Jerusalem	220	V
246. Mr Stokell far at Jerusalem Tiers	220	V
247. Constitution Hill	220	V
248. Hunting Ground	220	V
249. Mr Thompson	222	NV
250. Captain Clark	222	V
251. Joseph Johnson of Green Ponds	223	V
252. Mr Ellis's Tap at Green Ponds	225	NV
253. Kemps Lake, Kempton (?)	227	V
254. River Clyde	227	V
255. Mr Allerdyce's	227	V
256. Clunie (Cluny) property	227	V
257. The Shannon River	233	V
258. Mr Espie	236	V
259. Lake Echo	236	V
260. Mr King	237	NV
261. Captain McKay	239	V
262. Ben Hall	244	V
263. Mad Dog Morgan	244	V
264. Vinegar Hill (Kriegen)	244	V
265. Samuel Cover, Irish author	246	V
266. Wild Goose Lodge, Ireland	246	V
267. Scullologue Barn, Ireland	246	V
268. District Constable Ward	247	V
269. Jeffs and Conway murdered	247	V
270. <i>Review</i> newspaper, Hobart	247	V
271. Major Ainsworth	252	V
272. Mr Greenbanks Oatlands/Ross	252	NV
273. Mr Kimberley	254	V
274. Constable Kelly	254	NV
275. Mr Pillinger	256	NV
276. Mr Samuel Smith	256	NV
277. Mr Harrison, Justice of Peace, Oatlands	259	V
278. Constable Cresswell	260	V
279. Rev MrTherry	261	V
280. River Isis	262	V
281. Mr Kit Gatenby	263	V
282. Lake River, by Isis river	265	V
283. Mr Cairn	266	NV
284. Constable Carter (or Carlin)	267	NV
285. Mr Youl on Macquarie River	269	V
286. Mr Kearney	269	NV
287. Hammock Hills	270	NV
288. Archer family	270	V
289. Epping Forest	271	V
290. Mr Jakobs, driver of post carriage	271	NV
291. Mrs Cox, widow	271	V
292. Miss Holton in Cash coach robbery	272	NV
293. South Esk	272	V
294. Mr Hewitt, the coachman	273	NV
295. Captain Horton	274	V
296. Mr Parke	273	NV
297. Ellenthorpe Hall	281	V
298. Rough Harry	285	NV
299. Berridale Inn, Montrose Rd, Hobart Town	289	V
300. Mrs Mason, landlady of above	289	NV

301. Spring Hill	290	V
302. Steamer <i>Derwent</i> , Hobart to New Norfolk	293	V
303. Jordan River	297	V
304. Kangaroo Point, Bellerive	297	V
305. Old Wharf, Hobart	298	V
306. Liverpool Street	298	V
307. Blue Bells of Scotland Inn on Murray Street	298	V
308. Melville St.	299	V
309. Argyle St.	299	V
310. Brisbane St	300	V
311. Old Commodore Public House	300	V
312. Constable Cunliffe	300	V
313. Constable Oldfield	300	V
314. Mr Capon, Head Gaoler, Hobart	301	V
315. Constable Winstanley	302	V
316. Mr Champ, Coroner	302	V
317. Mrs Smith, Old Commodore land lady	303	V
318. Mr M. McDowell, lawyer	304	V
319. Captain Forster, Comptroller General of Convicts	307	V
320. Mr Crouch, Sheriff	309	V
321. Michael Ryan, under sentence fourteen years, escaped	312	NV
322. Webb, the Javelin man	312	NV
323. Davey Street, Hobart	312	V
324. Bishop Willson	313	V
325. Rev Bond	313	V
326. Rev Hall	313	V
327. The Brig Anson	313	V
328. Nosey Daley	313	NV
329. Walker, executed in NSW	314	V
330. Churchill, executed in NSW	314	V
331. Moore, convict and Jones' partner after Cash	315	V
332. Platt, convict and Jones' partner after Cash	315	V
333. Richmond, VDL	315	V
334. Major Schaw (or Shaw) at Richmond	315	NV
335. Older man in hut with Jones	315	NV
336. Rev Mr Bedford	317	V
337. David Davis, baptismal name for George Jones	317	V
338. Judge Montague	318	V
339. Mr Murray the proprietor and editor of <i>The Review</i>	320	V
340. Sir Eardly Wilmot	320	V
341. Mr Chief Constable Morgan	321	V
342. Doherty, on board with Cash in brig	322	NV
343. Mr Burgiss [<i>sic</i>] the judge	323	V
344. Hyderabad, the ship for prisoners	329	V
345. Mr Brown the Coxswain who drowned	329	V
346. Hugh Bannon, a prisoner	330	NV
347. Mr White, Judge/Magistrate	332	V
348. Mr Barrow, a Magistrate	334	V
349. Mr Robbinson	338	NV
350. Smith, the overseer	340	NV
351. Thomas Mason, the stone cutter	341	NV
352. Fitzgerald, the master tailor	341	NV
353. Dog Brown	341	NV
354. Dog Morris, the watchman	342	NV
355. Mr Bold (Boot?) the Superintendent	343	NV
356. Dog Kelly	344	NV
357. Henry Edmunds, convict	345	V
358. James Harrison, convict	346	V
359. Valentine Flemming Esq Chief Justice	348	V
360. Mr Fielding Brown Esq. Judge	348	V
361. Mr Heley, constable	352	V
362. Mr Baldock, constable (later drowned)	357	V

363. Aaron Price	357	V
364. Barrett	357	NV
365. Mr Simpson, in charge of gaol gang	359	NV
366. Mr Everett, a doctor	360	NV
367. Father Murray	363	NV
368. Rocky Whelen	365	V
369. Williams	367	NV
370. George Strong or Dubbo	369	V
371. Splawfooted Clark	372	NV
372. Sullivan	373	NV
373. Feeney, drowned by constable	375	NV
374. Chapman, brutal overseer who drowned Feeney	373	NV
375. Ridgeway the overseer	374	NV
376. Morven, place around Launceston where Chapman executed	375	NV
377. Ship <i>Tory</i> , prisoner ship from Norfolk Island to Hobart	376	V
378. Stephen, constable off ship <i>Tory</i>	376	NV
379. Pine Tree Jack	376	V
380. Stephen Sutton, convict	376	NV
381. Stewart, Assistant Superintendent	379	NV
382. Greensmith, constable	380	NV
383. Mr Bobby Harris, Station Officer	382	NV
384. Thomas Facey, convict	382	NV
385. Martin Irwin, convict	385	NV
386. Saunders the blacksmith	385	NV
387. Alexander Campbell, convict	387/A	NV
388. Stretcher (iron bed torture)	387/B	V
389. Longridge	387/B	V
390. James Weir	388	V
391. Thomas Lurcher, convict	389	NV
392. Dooley, convict	391	NV
393. Mr and Mrs Honey, Commissary General and wife	393	NV
394. George Douse, convict	394	NV
395. Baily, free overseer	395	NV
396. 'Musha Pug'	395	NV
397. Hampton	395	V
398. Mr Byron Miller	396	NV
399. Safety Cove Dairy	396	V
400. Captain Blandford, superintendent	398	V
401. Captain Dearing	401	V
402. Corrigan, constable	402	NV
403. Rev Mr Lucas	402	V
404. Wainwright, senior constable at Longridge	404	NV
405. Hanson	404	V
406. Fletcher, sub overseer with Cash	405	V
407. Samuel Bridges	405	NV
408. Honorable William Burns	406	NV
409. New Zealand	406	V
410. Glenorchy	406	V

APPENDIX 7

THIRTY-FIVE WORDS AND PHRASES IDIOSYNCRATIC TO BURKE

Chapter 4, *James Lester Burke Scribe and Co-Author*, examined the graphology and style of Burke's handwriting, spelling and phraseology. The following appendix lists thirty-five consistent misspellings and frequently used words and phrases. They indicate Burke's 'word-shadow' and verify him as the sole writer. When taken holistically these words and phrases are unique to Burke. Especially noted is the use of the word 'very', which is never corrected throughout the manuscript; likewise is the use of 'possession'. The words and phrases are listed in order of their frequency and chosen for their identification value.

	Words/phrases	Times used in narrative
1.	it	4707
2.	that	1801
3.	was (frequently used incorrectly)	1586
4.	very (sp)	580
5.	however	228
6.	circumstance	125
7.	occasion	124
8.	latter	123
9.	round (instead of 'around')	93
10.	seen (as in 'I seen')	90
11.	mates	85
12.	at the same time	73
13.	observing	67
14.	the reader	65
15.	unfortunate (usually satirical)	65
16.	whom	55
17.	observing	54
18.	at the same time	53
19.	resolved	48
20.	liberty	41
21.	possession (sp)	39
22.	recollect	36
23.	by and by	32
24.	I here remark	28
25.	premises	26
26.	the following morning	23
27.	principle	17

28.	wretched	15
29.	was of opinion	15
30.	sobriquet (satirical)	12
31.	adventure	11
32.	perfectly aware (satirical)	11
33.	worthy (satirical for hated person)	10
34.	by the bye	8
35.	seperated (sp)	7

APPENDIX 8

ABREVIATED SELECTIONS FROM *ADDENDA*

The following five selections are typical of the information appearing in the *Addenda* of 28,985 words. These reports illustrate the variable content of the *Addenda* and are taken from the 1843 period of Cash and gang's bushranging experiences. The *Addenda* did not follow any specific form in the presentation of dates.

1. (20th January, 1843.)

We regret to learn that three misguided men who have escaped from Port Arthur are at present at large, and levying contributions in the Richmond District. On Monday night, they called at Blinkworth's, at Jerusalem, and possessed themselves of a double barrelled gun and some ammunition... Their names are Martin Cash, Kavanagh and Jones. They may cause some terror...and may do some mischief... A reward of fifty pounds has been offered.

2. (Idem, 21st February.)

...speaking of the attack on the Woolpack, Kavanagh said that he had gone back for a keg of brandy, and that Cash had received a flesh wound from the constables, but was now quite recovered. They expressed pleasure at hearing that the report of the death of one of the constables [wounded] was unfounded. They left without offering any further violence.

3. (Idem, 14th March.)

Accounts have reached town that Cash and his mates have robbed Mr Triffett's house on the Ouse on Saturday last, and it was stated that they had gone to the Campbell Town district. Yesterday morning the constables apprehended Mrs Cash at her residence, having found several articles belonging to Mr Shone, at the Black River...

4. (Idem, 11th April.)

The perfect insufficiency of the police to apprehend Cash and his troupe is at length acknowledged after some months' unavailing efforts. The military have been in consequence ordered to their assistance. Thirty-nine men, under the command of Lieut. Doveton... We have no doubt that those measures will be successful...

5. (Idem, 19th May.)

To the Editor of the *Hobart Town Advertiser*.

Sir,--In common with my fellow colonists, free, I feel not only surprised but indignant that Cash and his party should range at will through half the colony, although a large body of constables and military at a very heavy expense to the colony are professedly in pursuit of them.

APPENDIX 9
BURKE'S
BRICKFIELD'S LETTER
AND
'POVERTY' LETTER

Besides the long narrative/manuscript, only two short writings in Burke's hand have survived. They were both written from the Brickfield's Prison. The Brickfield letter was written in 1879, the approximate year of the 'poverty' letter. (The 'poverty' letter bears no date.)

From the Brickfield Institution
Full Letter by
James Lester Burke

In the margin of the letter is penned: 'Referred to the Superintendent of the Brickfield Invalid Depot for his observations' and is signed by W.O. Riebey.

To the honourable I.M. Dooley Esq. M.H.A.

7 January 1879

A Cry from the Brickfield Institution

Hon. Sir

Under the hope and impression that a more glorious era appears on the horizon in reference to our governing principle when the illustrious names of Reibey, Balfe(?), Dooley v O'Reily and the last tho not the least the man of the people Crowther shall take the helm and clean out the Augean Stables

I would respectfully offer a few remarks relative to our charitable institutions comparing (?) myself in the first instance to the Brickfield in which I have been incarcerated for the last two months subject to a local order from Mr Tarleton which probably (?) the discharge of a patient for a period of three months from the date of his admission.

It may be as well that I should first commence with our Superintendent with his palace and his garden and 250 pounds per annum, that gentlemans [*sic*] duty are simply as follows, in his shirt sleeves he puts in an appearance at 5 of a.m. in the morning, waited upon by the pauper mess men to whom he distributes the rations with Carte Blank to manipulate and dispose of them before placing them in the hands of the Cook. This Cook lets me respectfully observe receives the Tea & Sugar and in his daily visit to the nearest gin shop he generally converts a portion of the latter into a pint or two of Beer, but with the trivial matters I shall not further impose upon your time and patience, nevertheless I must of necessity return to the routine of duties our Superintendent, who when his business in reference to the distribution of rations is performed, assumes The White Chocker, and proceeds at once to join the benevolent committee Hall then offers his godly and charitable suggestions and the business of the day is concluded There are occasions when he visits the yard in the afternoon, but

as to see the comfort and cleanliness of the miserable inmates, that is nothing more nor less than a myth, perhaps he may observe a helpless pauper lying in the gutters of the institution if so he may have him removed to the smoking room by some of his pauper helps. He never seeks to know what state that pauper may be in crawling alive with vermin but this has become so plain and ostensible, that the wards and even the yard has become infested and may eventually prove a plague spot in the center of the community. It may be needless for me to say anything about the superintendents [sic] antecedents. His career as a private soldier finished up in Tasmania he afterwards figured as a coal whipper on the wharf until providence or the paucity of his honest deserving men permitted him to fill a subordinate situation in the Cascade Female Penitentiary from which he was ultimately transferred to his present situation in his private character he has not one deserving quality. A low bred vagabond who never winces the slightest shadow of humanity in his dealings with the miserable inmates and I feel perfectly justified in slating him and many other of his compatriots in connection with charitable institutions has rendered the mercy and munificent gift of a generous public not a blessing but a curse. Where goes the expenditure of 19,000 pounds. The institution I belong to could be conducted and that to the benefit of the pauper upon quite a different principle-give us our daily bread, permit an honest and god fearing man to see that we get it. Give us some clean clothing and our wants will be liberally supplied, above all let us have cleanliness, the mess pot in the mess would literally sicken the stomach of any man who was wholly lost to every thing in the shape of decency.

In reference to our medical attendance here it is purely and simply a farce. The Superintendent is our bona fida, [sic] doctor and our dispenser can scarcely read the labels on the bottles but he is of long standing and a protégé of the superintendents. There are many honest and right minded men who would gladly conduct the affairs of this institution on we'll say 60 pounds per annum with the quarters and contingent emoluments attached to the situation. I have not done with this, I shall explain my views and observations upon both the Brickfield and Cascade establishment when I make my escape from this den of filth and misery, I shall place my views and observations in the hands of the Editor of the Tribune and I trust that my heavenly father will assist me in the important object of my life and that is simply to ameliorate the condition of the settled pauper and by doing so ignore the wasteful expenditure in the management of pauper institutions Vis Mr Tarleton Esq., we never have the pleasure of seeing that gentlemans [sic] face.

Mr Witt, I am given to understand is now the giver of charitable indulgences. This can never be the Mr Witt who obtained some notoriety in the early part of his career in Tom Wares House of Blazes in Liverpool Street and lived in the purview of Wapping and Watchorn Street but I must be certainly deceived as the real Mr Witt of charitable notoriety wears a white choker. The Medical Board I believe has entrusted him with the care and management of the outdoor paupers and patients I must respectfully pray in conclusion that the Lord may have mercy upon us and save us from that terrible and expensive supervision. Pardon this scrawl I am both weary excited and for the brief opportunity that has offered I scribble these lines to you. God bless you may you be one of the saviours of this misgoverned country and an honour to your own

James Lester Burke

Burke's 'Poverty' Letter

This letter is undated and was found (loose leaf) in the manuscript. It did not appear in the first edition. The letter is most certainly Burke's. The tone of the letter, when compared with the letter from the 'Brickfields', is one of heightened frenzy. His use of the word 'again' places this letter at about the same time as 'Brickfields' (1879). The 'poverty' letter reveals a disturbed person, yet Burke's handwriting bears the hallmark of the careful and concise penmanship of the narrative/manuscript.

Burke writes:

Sir

I am absolutely driven by poverty and destitution to intrude myself again upon your notice, with an humble earnest and respectful prayer that you may in your benevolence stretch forth your hand and save me from impending destruction.

Sir, my early days I have been an articled clerk to Mr I Stanley or rather I Stanley Esquire Solicitor [*sic*] Angien Street Dublin and before entering the army. I have written for several of the leading counsel in that city amongst whom were the Messrs M Donagh and W McTesty(?). I am now, through my own thoughtlessness folly, bereft of both patronage and friends and should you in charity grant me the benefit of your influence in procuring me some employment, no matter in what capacity, the outpouring of a grateful heart shall be yours for the remaining portion of my life.

And beg to be

Sir

Your very humble servant

J L Burke

Note: The final salutation deteriorates in quality in comparison to the body of the letter.

APPENDIX 10

OMISSIONS IN CASH NARRATIVE FROM THE NORFOLK ISLAND PERIOD FOLIOS 323-406

Total words in folios: 15,274

Words omitted words from all post 1870 editions: 4,800

The omissions concerning Norfolk Island in the 1880-1981 editions contain some of the most revealing information in Cash's narrative. As a reprise, the 28,985 words of omissions in all

1880-1981 editions constitute the major part of what I referred to as 'The Book within the Book'. Norfolk Island is the most important of these omissions because they expose information about Price, state-sponsored torture and the attitudes of convicts and their supervisors. Also included in these omissions is the governmental attitude towards homosexual behaviour. Whilst some clergy gave attention to homosexual practices on the island, Cash gives particular consideration to such behaviour. However, most of these accounts were removed in the editions after 1870. I have separated the nearly 400 lines of omissions and placed them as contiguously as possible. When read separately these homosexual stories become an entity.

In this appendix the running number of omitted lines for the entire narrative is on the left and begins with 2553 which is the first omission from the text concerning Norfolk Island. The folios are numbered in order.

When the omissions are read as a continuous entity, there is a sense of continuity. An analysis is found in Chapter 5, *Omissions 'The Book Within the Book'*. The spelling and structural integrity of the narrative has been retained and not altered in any way. Double brackets reveal the words which were edited in the manuscript but did not appear in any editions. Question marks indicate an impossible word(s) to decipher. It has been necessary to present this lengthy appendix to illustrate the degree to which some information about Norfolk Island was excised.

2553.Folio 324.

2554.on all Saturdays throughout the

2555.Folio 327.

2556.which converted the Island into a state far worse than Sodom and Gomorah, but

2557.I must in justice to the memory of Major Childs acquit that gentleman ((X acquit
2558.that gentleman)) from having the slightest conception that such fearful practices
2559.existed, he could not for a moment conceive that human nature would sink to 2560.such
a depth of iniquity and immorality, but as I before observed he was dealing 2561.with
prisoners and his indulgent treatment proved a curse rather than a blessing 2562.but I must
not say that the crimes committed at that time were mainly 2563.attributable to this cause, as
I have subsequently known them to be carried out to 2564.a much greater extent, under the
rule of that incarnate fiend ~~John Price~~, but to 2565.return

2566.to my story ((X being)) I had been about a fortnight on the Island when a most
2567.revolting murder was committed for which two men were executed It appears 2568.that
they had killed a sheep and while carrying away the carcass they were seen 2569.by a
constable who went in pursuit of them. On coming to a lonely place not far 2570.from the
settlement, they waited until the constable came up when they both 2571.attacked and
murdered him after which they opened him and placed a portion of 2572.the dead sheep in

his bowels. It was an appalling spectacle, and if the accused 2573. parties were guilty they certainly deserved their fate. On expressing a doubt

2574. Folio 328.

2575. as to the guilt of the unfortunate men who suffered, I am only repeating the 2576. opinions of the majority of the prisoners, who seemed to think that the real 2577. murderers were at large on the Island. Upon all occasions when prisoners were 2578. to be tried for Capital offences, a Commission had to be forwarded from Hobart 2579. Town as the Island was a dependency of ((X the)) the government of Van 2580. Diemen's Land.

2581. whether for good or evil. For instance the police under the government of Major 2582. Childs would be afraid to bring a prisoner up on a false charge, knowing that it 2583. would

2584. Folio 329.

2585. not be tolerated, and that in all probability it might end in their own dismissal, 2586. but under the rule of John Price, the greater the villain the more he got into 2587. favour. I am aware that it is an old proverb, "Set a thief to catch a thief" but I am 2588. only endeavouring to show that Mr Price would entertain a charge against a 2589. prisoner, knowing it to be a false one, and he has been known to instigate some 2590. of the most unprincipled of his constables to trepan? A man who he considered 2591. had a desire to behave himself ((X too long from the office)). But I am 2592. premature in introducing Mr Price to the reader as that Gentleman has not yet 2593. arrived on the Island, and for the sake of humanity it would be a blessing if he 2594. never did.

2595. The Hyderabad prison ship having now arrived bringing two hundred prisoners. 2596. The Coxswain (Mr Brown) with the boat's crew went out in the Launch to land 2597. the prisoners, there happened to be a heavy ground swell at the time and while 2598. crossing the bar, Mr Brown being struck with ((X with)) the steer oar was 2599. knocked over board and was never seen afterwards. He left a young wife and 2600. family on the Island who all shortly afterwards went to Sydney.

2601. I recollect an occurrence which took place on the settlement about this time 2602. which appeared the more inexplicable

2603. Folio 330.

2604. to me as the parties concerned had neither the hope or expectation of escaping 2605. detection. Three of the prisoners took it into their heads to rob the Coxwain's 2606. quarters in rear of the hospital. It appears that the Coxwain was absent on that 2607. occasion but his wife knew all the parties, however they took whatever they 2608. could lay their hands on and on their departure the Coxwain's wife gave the 2609. alarm, ((X and)) they were captured in five minutes after with the booty in their 2610. possession. I had seen reckless and wanton proceedings on the part of the 2611. prisoners when at Port Arthur but there they had something to offer the 2612. extenuation, being driven by starvation and tyranny to the Commission of 2613. offences, but here they had no such excuse to offer, having been afforded every 2624. facility in providing themselves with plenty of vegetables in addition to their 2625. stipulated rations. But there were some in this little Commonwealth as in all 2626. others who preferred what they could get by plunder to what they might easily 2627. have obtained by a little industry, and as this party formed no inconsiderable 2628. body on the island there was scarcely a day passed without hearing ((X of ?)) 2629. some fresh robberies and even prisoners under sentence were not exempt from 2630. their attacks, as a poor man named Hugh Bannon? who was employed at 2631. Longridge was

2632. Folio 331.

2633. stuck up on the settlement and rifled of what little tobacco and money he had in 2634. his possession. He knew the men who robbed him perfectly well, but would 2635. not

bring them to justice. I merely mentioned these circumstances to give the reader some idea of the relaxed discipline carried out on the Island at that time.

When a ship load of prisoners arrived from England, they were fleeced of all superfluities in the shape of Shirts handkerchiefs, Flannel Shirts, Stockings by these murauders who always found a ready sale for such articles in the military barracks, and I very seldom seen any of those petty offenders brought to punishments for their nefarious practices. We had a number of deaths on the Island, and I noticed that they were all new hands. Dysentery was the prevailing epidemic occasioned as I imagine by eating too freely of the fruit which grew abundantly on the Island, viz. Guavas Banana's Plantains Lemons wild grapes all of which could be had in abundance it is rather remarkable that the old hands were not infected in the same manner as I do not recollect a single instance of one of them dying through the influence of climate or any other influence whatever, save and except

Folio 332.

those who were placed at the immediate disposal of Mr White the then furnisher of the law, who in his professional practices of thinning off, swelled the number of deaths in his 'Line' to a pretty respectable average of those occasioned by 'Dysentery'.

The climate is mild and genial and appeared to be the same throughout the year, the change of Seasons being scarcely perceptible. Indian Corn being the staple article of diet for the prisoners grow here luxuriantly together with what they called Sweet Bucks?, a species of yam very sweet and palatable in flavour lemons can be plucked from the trees here all the year round, and the Cape Goosberry grows to a prodigious size but it is unnecessary for me to give a description of the island, as cleverer and abler pens than mine have done so before and I may only observe that there are no venomous reptiles to be

found on the ((X Island)) there, with the exception of those furnished by the local government of Vandiemansland, who during my stay had merely overran it and exercised their deadly influences upon all who came into contact with them, being guided by only one consideration, namely how to plead

((X John Price)) the ruler. However I did it as my impression that the Island was never intended for anything but a Watering Station.

Folio 333.

for shipping on their passage to the antipodes, as it contains an abundant supply of the best spring water. But it appears that the Sydney Government thought otherwise when they selected it as a penal Settlement, and I must confess that if the selection was made by the authorities in a Spirit of Vindictiveness and ? and with a view of crushing the hearts of those unfortunate wretches who left themselves open to the amenities of the law. The locality was eminently calculated to answer the purposes intended, and instead of Norfolk Island it should under the circumstances be called the Island of Despair. But to resume to my narrative I had now become a well known character on the Island, my hats and bonnets being in great demand, and it was with the utmost difficulty I could fulfil the numerous orders which were daily pouring in upon me. This circumstance enabled me to provide the mess to which I belonged with an abundance of Tea Sugar & provisions but as the conduct of some of my messmates did not accord with my notions of propriety I casually stated my opinions to Kavanagh ((X and)) who did not appear to coincide with me but on the contrary if I must say so rather sided with the delinquents, upon which I left the mess altogether and me and my old friend Dalton

formed a mess of our own. I did not do this on the impulse

Folio 334.

2688.of the moment, ((X but)) having seen for some time that Kavanagh was rather
2689.forgetting himself. ((X Appearing)) He appeared to assume a tone of superiority
2690.over me, as on one occasion he observed while in conversation, ~~that~~ I was 2691.very
[sic] well while in the bush under arms, but that at Norfolk Island I knew 2692.nothing.

2693.I certainly gave him the credit of knowing more of Norfolk Island Tactics than I
2694.had the wish or inclination to learn, as he had been fourteen years on the Island
2695.before I had become acquainted with him, but on finding that he considered me 2696.in
no other light than that of a person who answered his purposes I resolved to 2697.have no
more to say to him and I did not adopt this resolution until I found that 2698.it was absolutely
necessary and not before. I earnestly remonstrated with him on 2699.the part he was taking in
this wretched drama, pointing out to him the disparity 2700.of our Sentences, and also the
probability that existed of his getting back to 2701.society but it was all to no purpose, I
generally received a rebuke in return for 2702.my proffered friendship, and therefore left him
to himself, and it has often since 2703.occurred to me as a rather singular fact that my two
mates had been very 2704.unfortunate on separating themselves from me. Had Jones
continued to act

2705.as he had done while in my company his life would have been spared, but on
2706.leaving me he gave way to the bent of his

2707.Folio 335.

2708.own inclinations and in allusions(?) a woman he sealed his own fate. Kavanagh
2709.had now left me but I will not anticipate my story however ((X or)) the reader 2710.will
shortly see the result. I do not wish it to be supposed that I am trying to 2711.constitute
myself the guardian of either of them, I only mention the 2712.circumstances as they
occurred ((X to me)), leaving my readers to draw their 2713.own inferences.

2714.Folio 336.

2715.that was taken place which caused them to revolt in a body refusing to sleep in 2716.the
same apartment with me and my mate

2717.Folio 337.

2718.not a vessel came down without bringing overseers and

2719.Folio 338.

2720.the necessity of exercising more caution

2721.Folio 339.

2722.on his part in future, as well as to show him the feelings of the prisoners towards
2723.him and shortly after the last named occurrence the Tragedy of the 4th July was
2724.enacted under the following circumstances.

2725.Folio 342.

2726.or as he was generally termed Dog

2727.Folio 344

2728.or in vulgar parlance

2729.Folio 345.

2730.his

2731.Folio 346.

2732.arrived for the purpose of adjudging one or ? crimes that shall be nameless, and
2733.also two or three more accused with attempting to take the launch

2734.One of the men who was charged with attempting to take the Launch was rather
2735.an extraordinary character his name, if I recollect right, was James Harrison but
2736.better known on the island as Jimmy? Harrison, he was a man above the middle
2737.size and appeared to be about eighteen years of age and on the occasion in
2738.question evinced both courage and determination his party on being attacked by

2739.the police immediately gave themselves up but Harrison, before being
2740.overpowered by numbers left one constable to be carried off the field
2741.Folio 347.

2742.and nearly disabled another, and had two or three more of his companions 2743.evince
the same determined spirit they would undoubtedly have succeeded in 2744.effecting their
escape from the island but as ((X in case of)) they showed the 2745.white feather. He was left
to fight the battle by himself in consequence of which 2746.they were all captured, and as the
reader ((X will)) may be ((X only)) interested 2747.in the fates of poor Harrison, it will be
only necessary to say that he was 2748.sentenced to three years in heavy Irons in the gaol
every third month of which 2749.was to be Solitary Confinement. I was sorry for ((X
Harrison who was)) him as 2750.he appeared to be both manly generous and well conducted
in every other 2751.respects and I am now happy to say that he afterwards conducted himself
2752.remarkably well, and at the expiration of his sentence he was forwarded to 2753.Hobart
Town where he still resides with a wife and family and although in 2754.humble
circumstances he is yet much respected by all who know him.

2755.Folio 349.

2756.and the wretched cortege passed on

2757.I was sorry to find that he could entertain feelings of hatred against me and the
2758.sequel will show that he regretted the circumstance very

2759.Folio 351.

2760.It was remarked by the prisoners that the former brought bad weather with him
2761.which prevented him from landing in the usual place, causing him to proceed to
2762.the East Side of the Island before he could effect a landing.

2763.Folio 352.

2764.who afterwards became

2765.Island and from what I had known of him in Van Diemens Land I was of

2766.opinion that he was anything but an impartial and upright magistrate, and

2767.dreaded thinking

Folio 353.

2768.that having me now completely in his power he would retaliate and by his

2769.persecution drive me to do that which would cause my destruction. However

Folio 354.

2770.however I endeavoured to convince him that he had my entire forgiveness, and having
remained with him for the next quarter of an hour

Folio 360.

NOTE: Folios 361, 362, are missing.

Folio 363.

2771.to supercede Connought? Jack who had returned to Vandiemensland

2772.escape as notwithstanding all his seeming indifference I was fully impressed in 2773.the
belief that his sole object in visiting the gaol was to try and catch me platting 2774.in my cell,
and had he been as Fly as he imagined himself to be he could have 2775.accomplished his
purpose by examining the end of the sennot? which he would 2776.have found wet ((X
which)) and this would be quite sufficient proof that I had 2777.been at work.

Folio 364.

2778.but I could not remember him

Folio 366.

2779.It will here be necessary to observe that Convict officials in meeting out their
2780.period of Solitary Confinement

Folio 367.

2781. are restricted by medical authority from passing a longer sentence than thirty 2782. days, it being the opinion of the faculty that anything over this would endanger 2783. the life of the prisoner. Now in Williams's case. Mr Price did not transgress the 2784. rule, as he sentenced him to fourteen days on each separate occasion, but the 2785. prisoner ((X was)) had been virtually undergoing the rigours of Solitary 2786. Confinement without intermission for forty one days as he was conveyed to 2787. hospital on the day before his last sentence expired. However after some care on 2788. the part of the doctor he recruited a little and by and by was discharged from 2789. hospital in charge of a Constable, Mr Price having issued an order that Williams 2790. should be brought up again when the doctor had done with him

Folio 368.

2791. In this case Williams evinced a spirit of determination worthy of a better cause 2792. but he was dealing with a man who would not hesitate to sacrifice him and every 2793. prisoner or Free inhabitant on the Island before he allowed himself to be bested 2794. as he himself termed it.

Folio 370.

2795. His object in doing this was to find if dubbo would bring them to the office

2796. for punishment in case they Committed themselves, being quite aware that the 2797. character who was placed in his charge would certainly do so, and should dubbo 2798. fail to bring them to notice Mr Price would then have an opportunity of giving 2799. him another spell at the pepper mill. But in order to be more fully understood it 2800. will be necessary for me to state that on all occasions where prisoners evinced 2781. any firmness

Folio 371.

2782. of character Mr Price would never feel satisfied until he fought them to lose 2783. their cast as he expressed them, that is to turn round and bring their fellow 2784. prisoners up to the office on a charge whether real or imaginary. This was a 2785. great hobby of his and he never lost an opportunity of carrying this out I thanked 2786. him and replied that I should like it verry well. He spoke not another word but 2787. returned to the settlement. In the evening on coming to the gaol, my Irons were 2788. taken off and I was sent down to the lumber yard.

2789. and those who nothing of the business were obliged to learn, and on the 2790. following morning I was put? in with the party and marched to the shop where

Folio 372.

2791. I was given to understand that Mr Price had appointed me to take charge, the 2792. ((X other)) overseer who had been in charge being appointed to some billet at 2793. government house and I recollect upon one of these occasions meeting with my 2794. friend Dubbo, when in charge of his party, and knowing the incorrigible set he 2795. had to deal with, I asked him how his men were getting on. He replied with an 2796. oath that he had them as tame as if they had just returned from Rome after 2797. taking holy orders.

2798. being the first that had been committed under the rule of John Price

Folio 373.

2799. as Mr Price was of opinion that those who were fortunate enough to do so were 2800. 'besting him' and in such instances he has been known to tamper with the most 2801. unprincipled of his constables, in order to trepan the unfortunate men and bring 2802. them to the office from whence they were sure to be handed over to the tender 2803. mercy of the flagellator.

Folio 374.

2804. The Flaggelator died immediately after receiving the wound. The reader

2805. now see that the stringent measures carried out by Mr Price were far from 2806. answering the purposes intended viz the prevention of crime

2807.as that abominable crime to which I have before reluctantly averted was now on
2808.the increase,

2809.so much so that it was openly avowed, and although Mr Price on his first 2810.landing
signified his intention to put a final stop to this crime in particular, yet it 2811.is a well
known fact which has been authenticated by the Rev Mr Rogers that 2812.two prisoners who
were in the gaol and under sentence of death charged with 2813.committing this revolting
offence had been placed in the same cell, by order of 2814.Mr Price, and also that the crime
for which they were so justly about to forfeit 2815.their lives was again committed while
awaiting execution. This may appear 2816.improbable but it is a fact nevertheless and when
Mr Price had been called on 2817.for an explanation, he remarked that he had no other
alternative

Folio 375.

2818.as the gaol was so densely crowded that he was obliged to place two in a cell, 2819.and
as I am dealing in facts I may as well now relate another circumstance 2820.which occurred
nearly about the same time as the incidents above related

2821.Mr Price

2822.There had been four English

Folio 376.

2823.ships ((X ?)) with prisoners since my arrival on the Island, and those that were 2824.on
it previous to that event which constituted a very large number were 2825.forwarded to
Hobart Town with the exception of those who Mr Price selected 2826.as constables or for
other situations. The 'Tory' having arrived from 2827.Vandiemensland with prisoners, Mr
Baldock while returning from the

2828.vessel which was lying outside the bar, was drowned the boat having capsized 2829.The
other four men who was with him in the boat contrived to swim on shore. 2830.His situation
was however was very soon filled up by one of Mr Price's 2831.selections a constable
named Stephens who he at once promoted to the office. 2832.The Tory took another draft of
probationers who had completed their time, and 2833.directly after another vessel arrived
which carried away all who had finished 2834.their sentence. I was always rejoiced on seeing
unfortunate prisoners leave this 2835.abode of wretchedness earnestly hoping that the time
would arrive that it would 2836.be my turn also, but this under the present government was a
matter of much 2837.uncertainty, being aware that the slightest mistake would place me
again in the 2838.Gaol gang where I might have to remain for years like many more of my
fellow 2839.prisoners who instead of lessening the term of their bondage were daily
2840.increasing it by receiving fresh sentences for the most trivial offences, and it is a
2841.well known fact that the majority of the prisoners who were sent from Tasmania

Folio 377.

2842.to Norfolk Island in Mr Price's time no matter how short their sentences never
2843.returned until the Establishment was broken up, and also that prisoners who in 2844.the
first instance were sent down under a sentence of eighteen months, had been 2845.detained
on the island for five or six years and on their removal to Port Arthur 2846.when Norfolk
Island was discontinued those men were found to have some ten 2847.and twelve and others
as much as twenty years of a sentence yet to perform 2848.which in the first instance did not
exceed eighteen months or two years, and all 2849.this addition had been in the majority of
cases occasioned by a bit of tobacco 2850.being found in their possession or other equally
trivial offence and in order

2851.to illustrate my subject I have only to relate the following circumstance, which
2852.many who are not living in Tasmania and who in all probability may look at 2853.these
pages will know to be correct. A Constable who earned for himself the 2854.Cognomen of
"Pine Tree Jack" by a habit he indulged in of climbing up trees 2855.and otherwise secreting

himself when trying to detect prisoners in the act of 2856.trafficking or in any other way transgressing the regulations. On the occasion in 2857.question he took a prisoner named Stephen Sutton, to the office and charged him 2858.with having a chew of Tobacco in his mouth. Sutton denied having any tobacco 2859.in his mouth or anywhere else on his person Folio 378.

2860.and on Mr Price enquiring if Pine Tree Jack had seen the Tobacco he answered 2861.that he did not, but that if Sutton had not the Tobacco in his mouth at the time he 2862.was taken into custody, he had tobacco in his mouth some time before as the 2863.stains of it were still on his lips, and upon this verry conclusive evidence

2864.Price sentenced Sutton to fifty lashes and nine months addition. The reader may 2865.be of opinion that this may be exaggerated but I can only assure him that it is a 2866.positive fact.

2867.And as I have introduced Pine Tree Jack I will mention another adventure ((X 2868.which will)) of his which will prove him to be a man of infinite resources and 2869.worthy to fill the important office of Constable under that verry important and 2870.far seeing personage, John Price, but to continue, my friend Pine tree while in 2871.one of his observatories espied a prisoner detach himself from his gang and 2872.plant something near a bush. Being at too great a distance he could not 2873.recognize the prisoner and not wishing to betray his position he resolved to 2874.remain in his elevated situation until the gangs returned to the Settlement, upon 2875.which he immediately repaired to the spot where he found a fig? of Tobacco, but 2876.being resolved to have the man as well as the tobacco, he adopted the following 2877.expedient. After tying the end of a black thread firmly round the tobacco, he 2878.placed it in the same position in which he found it, and making the thread 2879.sufficiently long for his purposes

Folio 379.

2880.he next covered it up with earth, after which he brought the end of the thread to 2881.a bank where he could conceal himself from observation, having completed all 2882.his arrangements to his entire satisfaction he returned to the settlement, and 2883.early the following morning he repaired to his hiding place, and laying hold of 2884.the thread, remained like an angler at a brook looking for the dip of the cork, he 2885.had not long to wait however before the jerk of the thread apprised him that the 2886.time of action had arrived and immediately springing up he captured his 2887.prisoner with the tobacco in his hand and the thread and attached to it. Pine 2888.Tree lost no time in bringing him before Mr Price and on detailing the issue of 2889.his adventure, the unfortunate delinquent was

2890.sentenced to receive fifty lashes and twelve months addition. The artifices and 2891.contrivances of Pine tree Jack while on Norfolk Island would fill a volume as he 2892.appeared to live for no particular purpose but that of getting prisoners flogged 2893.and placed in solitary confinement, he was one of the new hands from England 2894.and while making himself so conspicuous in the exercise of his duty he was still 2895.a probationer receiving no pay and wearing a suit of prison clothing, but when 2896.his ambition was satisfied at that he was placed on pay he relaxed wonderfully 2897.in his vigilance.

2898.There happened to be an assistant Superintendent on the Island named Stewart, 2899.who had received his appointment

Folio 380.

2900.in England and had a large and helpless family. He was verry much esteemed by 2901.all classes on the Island, but having the misfortune to live next door to a married 2902.Constable named Greensmith, whose wife served an apprenticeship in the 2903.“Factory” and himself had taken out his degrees at Port Arthur. Some altercation 2904.took place between the wives of both parties, when Mrs Greensmith made a 2905.complaint to Mr Price who on investigating the matter gave orders that Mrs

2906. Stewart was to be sent off the Island by the first conveyance, and she left
2907. accordingly, being obliged also to leave a young family among which was a girl
2908. some twelve months old, as it appears the mother did not wish to take the child 2909. on
the passage it being in very delicate health. The circumstance caused a great 2910. deal of
murmuring on the Island it being considered one of the most cruel acts 2911. and that is
saying something that even that cruel and Tyranical ruler committed 2912. The husband as a
matter of course followed his wife to town in the next vessel 2913. taking his young and
numerous family with him. Greensmith after leaving 2914. Norfolk Island was subsequently
executed for the murder of his wife in Sydney, 2915. and let me here observe that her conduct
both before and after the time of her 2916. making the complaint which ended in the ruin of
this honest and respectable 2917. family was highly reprehensible, it being a notorious fact
that she lived in a state 2918. of adultery with Pine Tree Jack, a circumstance which could not
have

Folio 381.

2919. escaped the notice of John Price as scarcely anything transpired on the Island 2920. with
which he was not made acquainted by his Emissaries but it was the opinion 2921. of all who
had a knowledge of John Price's character, that his decision upon the 2922. affair in question
was occasioned by a secret dislike which he ever entertained 2923. toward the good and the
virtuous, having generally preferred the most 2924. treacherous and unprincipled villains on
Norfolk Island to fill the office of 2925. constables, and a man possessing such a
comprehensive knowledge of the world 2926. as Mr Price gave himself the credit of must be
aware that truth could not be 2927. expected from the lips of such double dyed ruffian as he
was generally in the 2928. habit of patronizing, and every person who knows anything
respecting his 2929. Tactics will bear me out in these assertions, and will also believe me
when I say 2930. that it was this class of prisoners who were generally the recipients of his
favour 2931. and confidence

Folio 382.

2932. not in a ? malice or revenge, but simply to ? a faint outline of that gentleman ? 2933. of
government, but to do justice ? and explain it in all its ? would require an 2934. abler pen than
mine. Having before observed that my sphere on the Island was 2935. extremely limited ?
describe what came under my own notice, however my last 2936. sentence ? the necessity of
exercising more care in future, being satisfied that 2937. my next ? I have the misfortune to
again ? office would be much more difficult ?

2938. more familiarly denominated ? Bobby Harris

Folio 383.

2939. as each man had a stipulated task to perform

2940. before John Price

2941. You can go now the both of you.

Folio 385.

2942. Irwin would have killed him and this I believe to be a fact, and here let me
2943. observe that by acting as I did I exposed myself to the enmity of the most
2944. disaffected of my class but this I did not care for as I considered ((X that)) I had
2945. done nothing but what any other man should do under the circumstance however 2946. a
statement of the whole affair was laid before Mr Price, and it was generally 2947. supposed
that I would get a Ticket-of-leave but I did not even get my irons 2948. knocked off in
consequence. Nor did I interfere with any such motive, but I am 2949. now of opinion that
had it been any other prisoner on the Island who had acted 2950. in the same manner, he
would get a Ticket-of-leave and also be removed off the 2951. Island by the next vessel that

arrived, and I would further remark that Mr Price 2952.in the first instance had been balked in his intention to persecute me by the 2953.Talisman words of the doctor—'permanent light labor'. About this time the 2954.platters had been removed to an upper room in the barrack yard which was 2955.reached by a stairs on the outside of the building, and here let me draw a veil 2956.over the acts of which daily and I may say hourly took place, but which in 2957.deference to the feelings of all who may look at these pages I dare not describe. 2958.A table which had been allowed for the convenience of the platters was placed 2959.in a corner of the room

Folio 386.

2960.a blanket screen around it and here acts had been committed which for the sake 2961.of common humanity shall rest in oblivion. Being determined to put a stop to 2962.this evil I casually mentioned the circumstance to a blacksmith named Saunders 2967.who I knew was a great confidant of Mr Price at the same time assuring him 2968.that if he mentioned my name I should decline to prosecute them, my sole object 2969.being to put a stop to practices which evoked the vengeance of heaven. The 2970.following day Mr Price visited the shop pay particular attention to the situation 2971.of the table, and shortly after his departure we were all brought to the office and 2972.ranked up before Mr Price, who after examining them all individually as to the 2973.motive of placing the screen round the table, and not eliciting anything 2974.satisfactory at last addressed me and asked my opinion on the matter. I answered 2975.that did not believe that it was placed there for any good motive, and this closed 2976.the proceedings, however it had the effect of stopping for a time at least the vile 2977.practices which gave rise to the investigation.

APPENDIX 11

THE LONG POEM

The following poem was placed in the manuscript, unnumbered, between Folios 260 and 261. It was published with alterations in the 1870 edition but in no other subsequent editions. All errors are included. Question marks indicate inability to interpret Burke's handwriting.

Following is the narrative/manuscript version of the poem:

Come all ye sons of Hibernia's Isle

That love to hear your tuneful notes
Remember William Wallace Montrose of sweet Dundee
At Mrs? where he played his part
? for Englands glory he nobly fought by sea
There is Wellington that hero's son
For King and Country he did run
He headed all his british troops
He faced his daring foe
But there's Martin Cash of daring fame
That brave man ? deserves his ?
He is a valiant son of Erins Isle where the sprig of shamrock grows
By treachery as it is said this brave man in the gaol is laid
It was Bedford? In Campbell Town that got him seven years
Which sent him to the ? in misery and discontent
But soon he made his foes repent as quickly you shall hear
He left Port Arthur's cursed soil, saying no longer will I toil
He made his way on the derwent land in spite of all his foes
He made the settlers crouch in dread wherever that he showed his head
He is a valiant son from Erin's Isle where the sprig of shamrock grows
The next was near the woolpack some constable did him attack
The number it was three to one they thought the prize secure
But Martin to his piece did cling and three of them did quickly wing
He says lie there you cowardly dogs of me you make too ?
? for mercy they did cry but no one came to their reply
While Martin with a smiling? Eye he gazed upon his foes
Then its through the bush he took his way he robbed the settlers night and day
He is a valiant son of Erin's Isle where the sprig of shamrock grows
The next was near the salt pan plains the constables followed him again
There was Sydney blacks and horse police and likewise soldiers too
But at the time they did draw near Cash he hailed them with three cheers
The first shot was their exchange his colour was true blue
He boldly stood upon the spot surrounded was by heavy shot
And like a fighting general he faced his daring foe
Surrender Martin they did cry Oh never till the day I die
He is the valiant son from Erin's Isle where the sprig of shamrock grows
As Martin Cash ?? taking around to Hobart Town to see his ? wife
Some constable did him pursue they cried out Martin is in ?
Some coward before him flew but one it cost his life

In the street this man did stand thinking to stop that daring man
But with a pistol in his hand he shot his ? foe
Surrender Martin they did cry Oh never until the day I die
He is a valiant son of Erin's Isle where the sprig of shamrock grows
By treachery as it was said this brave man is laid
And when his trial did come on there was hundreds did stand by
The Judge with a panting breath he told him to prepare for death
There was never a blush come on his cheek nor a tear fell from his eye
It is with hope that we will see this brave man have his liberty
And that he shall be as free as the ocean wind that blows
For he is of a good old ? race there's no one can his name disgrace
He is a valiant son of Erin where the sprig of shamrock grows
And the choice of men as you can choose
Heres Sydney blacks or ? too as
Could not match that son of Erin's Isle
Where the sprig of shamrock grows

Following is the 1870 version of the above poem:

Come all you sons of Erin's Isle that love to hear your tuneful notes –
Remember William Wallace and Montrose of sweet Dundee –
Napoleon played his part: by treachery was undone –
The great Nelson, for England's glory, bled and nobly fought by sea –
And Wellington, old Erin's son, who Waterloo so bravely won,
When leading on his veteran troops, bold faced his daring foes –
But, Martin Cash of matchless fame, the bravest man that owns that name –
Is a valiant son of Erin, where the sprig of shamrock grows.

By treachery, as is said, this hero to a goal was led,
_Twas Bedford who, In Campbell Town, had got him seven years,
Which sent him to the settlement in misery and discontent,
But soon he made his foes repent, as you shall quickly hear.
He left Port Arthur's cursed soil, saying, 'No longer will I toil,'
And soon he reached the Derwent's side in spite of all his foes.
He made the settlers crouch in dread wher'er he showed his head;
This valiant son of Erin, where the sprig of shamrock grows.

It was once near the Woolpack by enemies attacked;
The number being three to one, they thought their prize secure,
But Martin to his piece did cling, and three of them did quickly wing,
Saying 'Down! You cowardly dogs, or nail you to the floor.'
It's loud for mercy they did cry, but no one came to their reply,
While Martin, with a smiling eye, stood gazing at his foes.
Then through the bush he took his way, and called on the settlers night and day.
Did our valiant son of Erin, where the sprig of shamrock grows.

It was on the Salt Pan Plains he faced his enemies again.
There were the Sydney blacks and horse police, and well trained soldiers too;
But as the time when they drew near, Cash hailed them loudly with a cheer,
And let them have it left and right, his colours were true blue.
Bravely did he stand his ground, the bullets flying thick around,

And like a fearless general he faced his firing foes.
'Surrender, Martin,' loud they cry. 'Never till the hour I die,'
Said this valiant son of Erin, where the sprig of shamrock grows.

Brave Cash, not caring for his life, to Hobart came to see his wife.
The constables who lay in wait cried, 'Martin is in view;'
Some cowards tried to block his way, but one of them soon lifeless lay.
Their numbers were increasing, and still did Cash pursue,
And in the street a man rushed out, who tried to stop him in his route.
But with a pistol in each hand he shot clean off his nose,
'Surrender Cash!' was still their cry. 'Never till the hour I die,'
Said this gallant son of Erin, where the sprig of shamrock grows.

O'erpowered and wounded, bleeding, pale, The Bobbies walked him off to gaol,
And when his trial was brought on some hundreds listened by;
And when the Judge, with panting breath, had told him to prepare for death,
He calmly heard the sentence with a proud unflinching eye.
We all have hopes that we shall see bold Martin yet at liberty,
That shortly he will be as free as the ocean wind that blows,
He's of a good old valiant race, there's no one can his name disgrace,
He's a noble son of Erin, where the sprig of shamrock grows.

He's the bravest man that you could choose from the Sydney men or Cockatoo,
And a valiant son of Erin, where the sprig of shamrock grows.

APPENDIX 12

THE TEN SHORT POEMS

Each of the ten chapters of the 1870 edition begins with a short introductory poem.

Chapter 1: 'Birth and Parentage'

I dream of all things free
Of a gallant, gallant bark
That sweeps thro' storm and sea
Like an arrow to its mark--
Of a stag that o'er the hills
Goes bounding in his glee--
Of a thousand flashing rills--
Of all things glad and free.

Chapter 2: 'Tasmania'

There's music in the laughing sky
The earth is stamped in loveliness
 & all around is fair;
There's glory on the mountain top, and gladness
 on the plain,
The flowers spring from their wintry bed
 and flush & bloom again.

Chapter 3: 'Port Arthur'

Janus himself, before his fame shall wait,
And keep the dreadful issues of his gate.
With bolts and iron bars, within remain
Imprisoned fury bound in brazen chains.

Chapter Four: 'The Escape Through the Neck'

Some love to roam on the dark sea foam,
Where the wild winds whistle free;
But a chosen band in a mountain land—
A life in the woods for me.

Chapter Five: 'The Engagement at the Woolpack Inn'

Where you rock the plain o'er shadows,

Close beneath its foot retired,
Fainting lay the bleeding hero,
And without a groan expired.

Chapter Six: 'The Attack Upon Captain Clark'

'Stand! Stand!' is the word all dread to hear
Your gold and your gems resign,
With my pistols cocked, and my looks severe,
For a desperate life is mine.

Chapter Seven: 'The Night Engagement at Salt Pan Plains'

A stranger ear between those sounds of sadness,
Which came upon the night wind heavily,
In vain had listened for the note of gladness—
The trumpet which tells of victory.

Chapter Eight: 'The Capture'

Far, far from the plain,
A dust cloud marks the way,
Of the cowards' hearts whose blood should stain
The snow where the trophies grim remain—
Their dread lord & his warrior train of that disastrous day.

Chapter Nine: 'Norfolk Island'

Deprived of hope and freedom at a blow,
What has he left that he can yet forego?
Yes, to deep sadness sullenly resigned;
He feels his body's bondage in his mind—
Puts off his generous nature, and to suit
His actions to his fate, puts on the brute.

Chapter Ten: 'Liberty Restored'

A child of the country, free as air
Art thou, and as the sunshine fair,
Fed' mid' the May flower like a bee,
Nursed to sweet music on the knee,
Which winds make 'mong the woods of June.

APPENDIX 13

FIFTEEN MORE CASH/CLARKE COMPARISONS

Notes: 'Folio' signifies the Cash/Burke narrative/manuscript. 'Page' signifies Clarke's *For the Term*... The following Folios and Pages are in addition to the nine entries in Chapter 7: *The Influence of the 1870 Edition Upon Marcus Clarke's 1874 For the Term of His Natural Life*

1. Folios 364, 365, 368. ...the effects of John Prices discipline, by the many brutal and atrocious murders afterwards committed by men who being subjected for years to his tantalizing and maddening system of torture... Price had "...hands tied behind his back and a gag in his mouth secured around his head with...a head stall...exposed to the burning sun...flies...insects for eight hours for merely having a bit of tobacco in his possession.[sic] Williams at last yielded [after approximately 85 days in solitary confinement] and expressed his willingness to take the oath required, upon which he was released Mr Price observing that that was all he wanted.

1. Page 247. ...our new Commandant, who as I expected, is Captain Maurice Frere...has realized my worst anticipations. He is brutal, vindictive, and domineering. His knowledge of prisons and prisoners gives him an advantage...he much resembles a murderous animal. He has but one thought—to keep the prisoners in subjection. 'I was sent here to keep order...and by God, sir, I'll do it!'

As in the previous passages when juxtaposing these and comparing with many others in both documents there is little doubt that the story was lifted from Cash to Clarke.

2. Folios 340, 341, 342. William Westwood but better known...Jacky Jacky headed a mob of some twenty prisoners all of whom were armed with staves and bludgeons...killed a free overseer...with a stroke...Westwood on passing the latter dashed out his brains against the brick work...Westwood immediately killed one of the constables...Westwood chopped him with the other axe...Those who were immediately acquainted with him to be tired of his life...

2. Page 246. His papers are very bad. He is perpetually up for punishment...he and a man named Eastwood nicknamed Jacky Jacky...and they openly avow themselves weary of life.

The name Eastwood changed from Westwood and the use of Jacky Jacky as the same man's name is nothing short of identical as Clarke only makes a slight change for reasons unknown. Under the rules of writing in 1870 Clarke did not have to change names if he so chose...and he did not.

3. Folios 356 & 357. ...subsistence by making straw hats and bonnets...I had an opportunity to work at the hat making... ...He [Price] answered. Disobedience of orders in making straw hats...

3. Page 244-247. ...his straw hat...the man's name is Rufus Dawes and that he is the leader of the ring ...The plaiting of straw hats during the prisoners' leisure hours is also prohibited.

Straw hat making stories begin in Ireland (and chapter one) for Cash and his use of straw and the making of straw items and hats continues throughout the entire manuscript. The use, by Clarke, of the straw hat making is here shown to be of the same genre and used for the same purpose: punishment by Price (Frere).

4. Folios 323 & 324. ...put into gaol...sent down to adjudge their cases...we were conducted to the lumber yard which was surrounded by a high stone wall, with a wooden building on one side which was used as a mess room...At meals they formed themselves into messes, having six men in each mess...At the time of my arrival there were about two thousand prisoners on the Island...at six o'clock in the evening we were marched in single file from the lumber yard...to the barracks which was a large stone building three stories high...to which the mens [sic] hammocks were suspended.

4. Page 242. The barracks are three stories high, and hold seven hundred and ninety men (let me remark here that there are more than two thousand men on the island). There are twenty-two wards in the place. Each ward runs the depth of the building, viz., eighteen feet...They sleep in hammocks, slung close to each other...The hospital is a low stone building, capable of containing about twenty men. There are two gaols, the old and the new. In the old gaol are twenty-four prisoners, all heavily ironed, awaiting trial...There is a place enclosed between high walls...called the Lumber Yard. This is where the prisoners mess. Six-hundred men can mess here.

Upon further inspection there is no doubt that Clarke and Cash were writing about the same thing...the prison at Norfolk Island. The reader is reminded that Clarke never set foot on Norfolk Island and Cash spent almost ten years as a prisoner there.

5. Folio 299. I now ran at full speed...my pursuers still increasing...I knew that if I could keep my road clear none of them could catch [Cash's convict record tells of Cash's long feet] ...I quickened my pace...me...

5. Pages 152 & 153. He ran up that stone heap...and seemed to me to jump at the roof of the shed...By the Lord that's a big jump...right up Macquarie Street...the fellow runs like a deer.

The speed of Cash being chased by the police on the night of his capture in Hobart Town is obviously very near to the same story.

6. Folios 327,329, 389, 387B. ...under the rule of John Price [Norfolk Island] the greater the villain the more he got in favour...Price would entertain a charge against a prisoner, knowing it to be a false one, and he has been known to investigate some of the most unprincipled of his constables to trepane...Price...named Thomas Lurcher having been flogged gagged and imprisoned to such a fearful extent...Mr Price...sentenced him to solitary confinement until the time of his death a period of six months. Under the rule of John Price the greater the villain the more he got in favour. That incarnate fiend, John Price... ...a cool deliberate murder on the part of John Price.

6. Page 127. ...his delight to rate the chain gangs in their own hideous jargon, and to astound a new comer by his knowledge of his previous history. The convict population hated and cringed to him, for, with his brutality and violence he mingled a ferocious good humour that resulted sometime in tacit permission to go without the letter of the law...he would appear through a side door just as the constables burst in the back...(Note: after drinking with constables) and show himself as remorseless in his next morning's sentence...as if he had never entered a tap room in his life. His superiors called this 'Zeal', his inferiors 'Treachery'...'Everything is fair to those wretches,' he was accustomed to say.

The same story with a slightly different tale is told here. The reason would appear to be because of the desire of Clarke (and Cash) to show how both Price and Frere were the villains of the prison.

7. Folios 364, 365. ...sad experience of the effect of John Prices discipline, by the many brutal and atrocious murders afterwards committed by men who being subjected for years to his tantalizing and maddening system...this gag was...inflicted for some disrespect whether real or imaginary...trivial offence...

7. Pages 176, 187, 233. *Captain Frere takes a deep interest in all relating to convict discipline...I ought to be familiar with all phases of convict mastered them...as their 'disciplinarian'.*

Cash and Clarke seek to show that the 'discipline' meted out by Price and Frere was not discipline in the sense of keeping order. Instead, it was meant to show the cruelty of the system(s).

8. Folio 162. ...a tall powerful man who was working in a distant part of the quarry telling me that his name was Kavanagh [a Sydney man] and who also had a strong inclination to abscond.

8. Page 201. ...one day a man named Kavanagh, a captured absconder...

The fact that Cash escaped Port Arthur with Lawrence Kavanagh, a Sydney man who was known for being an absconder, and that Clarke uses the image from Cash as well as the name, certainly bears out the strong similarity...indeed...a probable identity of the source of the story.

9. Folios 360, 378. ...returned directly to gaol, and gave...orders to provide the heaviest pair of Irons...and put them on me...in a few minutes I had the largest pair of irons.....Mr Price sentenced Sutton to fifty lashes and nine months addition.

9. Pages 139, 141, 148, 150. ...Not all the weight of the double irons swaying...around his massive loins...'they sent me to the coal mines...' with a great clanking and clashing of irons, the forty rose...rapping the leg-irons...flogged and weighted with heavier irons...

The combination of these Folios and Pages remove the possibility of these being of circumstantial evidence. However, when they are taken within the context of the circumstances and penalties Price placed upon Cash and his convict fellows and the closely related references to Frere by Clarke lend circumstantial value.

10. Folios 359, 360, 149. [Norfolk Island]...he ordered me to sit on the stone heap and break stones and now while I am on the stone heap...I had scarcely been an hour on the stone heap when John Price...gave Heley orders to provide the heaviest pair of Irons on the Island...[Port Arthur] They had a place peculiarly constructed where they were employed in breaking stones. It was a long passage divided into compartments by a brick wall about four feet high with a bench in front on which their stone was placed, each man having to break them in a standing position while chained to a ring set in the wall...

10. Pages 145, 147. *At one side (of the stone breaking area) rose the cells...projected a weather board under-roof, and beneath...forty heavily-ironed convicts...a third constable went down the line and examined the irons...Mr Meekin, the clergyman, thought...notorious Dawes...back to Port Arthur, had been permitted to amuse himself by breaking stone...but the forty were judged too desperate to be let loose. They sat, three feet apart, in two long lines, each man with a heap of stones between his outstretched legs and cracked the pebbles in leisurely fashion. Rufus Dawes was seated last on the line...on that account to the*

most ill-favoured was a savage blow, which slipped the stone into sudden fragments...

The breaking of stones as here depicted would seem to be from the same illustration or nearly so. In other sections of Cash's work, the explanation of rock breaking is also very similar.

11. Folio 5. [Jessop, shot by Cash] ...verry [sic] unfavourable of his recovery...verdict...recommended me to mercy...I was sentenced to seven years Transportation...

11. Page 14. Dawes was ...acquitted of the murder...condemned to death for robbery...sentence commuted to transportation for life.

Much of the Cash narrative and the Clarke work depends upon this event. However, they do not stand strongly when compared with each other. They do help bear the rest of both stories.

12. Folios 1&4. ...father inherited a considerable amount of property...in land and houses....when I was about eight years of age I began to evince that wayward spirit which ultimately affected my ruin....doing just what I pleased and spending the greater part of my time in visiting races and other places...I was quite my own master and acted accordingly.

12. Page 7. ...mansion called Northend House...Sir Richard...in...high-strung accents...Lady Devine shuddered...'you married me for my fortune...'

There are scores of pertinent incidents like the above. By themselves they do not bear strong circumstantial weight. When placed together with the other circumstantial evidence in this appendix, they underpin the veracity of the data.

13. Folio 7 We made Sydney on the 10th February 1828...

13 Page 13 On the evening of the third of May 1827...was the scene of a domestic tragedy.

14. Folio 1. ...I began to evince that wayward spirit which ultimately affected my ruin.

14. Page 9. ...he became reckless and prodigal.

15. Folio 329. Ship named 'Hyderabad' used as prisoner ship to Norfolk Island.

15. Page 31. ...the fate of the 'Hydaspes'.

(This ship carried Rufus Dawes to Australia.) There are dozens of incidents, such as in number 22, which may or may not have been lifted from the Cash narrative. But, again, the weight of circumstantial evidence must accept these minor supports as positive. The change of names to closely mirror a similar event is common in *For the Term...* as the names of the two ships, under almost identical circumstances, here illustrates.

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